

# Routes to tour in Germany

## The Romantic Route

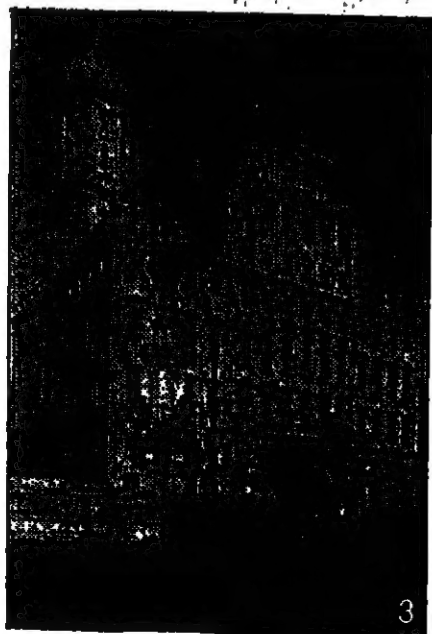
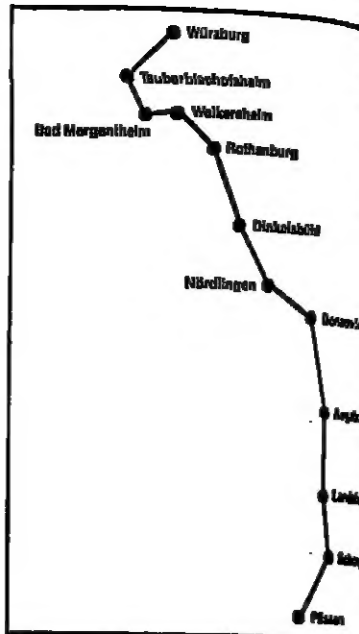
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## Crucial role of mediator in the Middle East

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

When Nixon and Kissinger the United States firmly established itself as the only power in a position to act as mediator between Israeli and Arab states.

The Yom Kippur War provided the opportunity for such a role and proof of competence was given by the agreement on the withdrawal of troops between Israel on the one hand and Egypt on the other, a result of efforts by Henry Kissinger.

The close ties between the United States and Israel did not prove to be an advantage here. Indeed, the Arab states felt that the possibilities thus available to the USA of influencing Israel enabled the Arab states to gain respect for their own interests. President Carter almost forfeited this position the USA had when he took office when he agreed to include the Soviet Union in negotiations on a peace settlement.

However, was thwarted by President Sadat's own peace mission in Israel. The United States once again receded the opportunity to function as mediator in the early stages of the peace process between Egypt and Israel.

The Camp David agreement was made about under President Carter's own responsibility.

However, it looked as if the United States would have to pay for this move a loss of its influence in most Arab states most of them regarded Camp David as a separate peace treaty. And this was the fact that Camp David already contained provisions for Palestinian autonomy on the West Bank in Jordan and the Gaza Strip.

Towards the end of the war between Israel and the Palestinians in Lebanon a war in which the other Arab states were either not in a position or unwilling to influence, the United States again able to prove to the Arab states its worth as mediator.

Therefore seemed the right time for the American future ideas for a peace settlement in the Middle East in this region. This is why what President Reagan has said.

The plan still maintains the rejection of a independent Palestinian state. The reason is that no support could be expected for such a proposal in both the United States or Israel. However, it doesn't exclude the idea although conceding that the "final result" will be found in negotiations.

A essential part of the new plan is the autonomy ruling for the Palestinians

on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip in association with Jordan and subject to the latter's control in security policy. With this arrangement in mind Israel is at the same time called upon to stop building more Jewish settlements on the West Bank. On presenting the new plan, the United States had to admittedly take into account that it is a partner to Camp David and bound to its provisions.

This agreement also envisaged Jordanian participation, not only in negotiations but also in the responsibility for the Palestinian autonomy.

It was agreed that Jordanian and Israeli military patrols should share responsibility for security on the West Bank and on the borders.

The attempt to thus gain Jordan's participation in the Camp David peace-making process was only logical.

Jordan, which up until the Six-Day War in 1967 had ruled the West Bank (thus "West Jordan") had in the meantime given up its claims to the territory.

It was then abandoned and left up to the PLO and the Arab League states to push through a Palestinian state.

Jordan was thus able to wash its hands of any immediate responsibility and at the same time avoid a conflict with Israel.

In doing so, however, Jordan could no longer be considered a negotiating partner to a peace settlement which would ultimately have led to the recognition of the state of Israel.

Subsequently the hopes of Camp David to gain Jordan's participation turned into wishful thinking.

However, the Camp David agreement only envisaged an autonomy arrangement for the Palestinians on the West Bank for a transitional period of five years.

In accordance with the experience gathered, all options were then to be reestablished.

If the Reagan plan were to signalise a deviation by the United States from this transitional ruling, this would indeed

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## The points at issue

FDP leader Hans-Dietrich Genscher (left) and Chancellor Schmidt (SPD) check the fine print during a cabinet meeting last week amid reports that the coalition was ready to fall (Story page 3).

(Photo: dpa)

## Bonn and Peking develop a new relationship

Germany relations with China are paradoxical. The greatest difficulties are where the two nations have the most common ground.

Bonn and Peking are equally worried about the Soviet Union's military supremacy, but no political benefits can be drawn from this.

Things must be kept realistic: even Adenauer at times justified his *Ostpolitik* passiveness by vaguely intimating that Chinese pressure would make the Russians give in in Europe.

Almost all leading CDU/CSU politicians visit Peking on the premise that you must keep on friendly terms with your enemy's enemy.

What they meet with in Peking can hardly be found anywhere else: an unbending determination to fight Moscow and unsolicited emphasis on Germany's right to national unity.

These demonstrations of friendship

gained even more in value when SPD and FDP sought and achieved reconciliation with Moscow. What emerged was a rather grotesque division: the coalition concentrated its efforts on Eastern Europe while the opposition made a point of cultivating relations with China.

When West German and Chinese politicians jointly point to the spectre of the Soviet Union, assuring each other of their determination to remain tough towards Moscow, three things happen: our relations with the Soviet Union come under considerable strain; the illusion in this country that the Chinese will relieve us of the Russian problem — and perhaps even bring about German reunification — grows; and Peking hopes to see Bonn pursue the kind of anti-Soviet policy that even conservative politicians (who like to use strong words when visiting China) could not afford were they in government.

Although largely unwarranted, there has been an impression that Peking and Bonn wanted to make each other a tool of their own policy. But naturally it doesn't work this way. All it does is lead to misunderstandings and disappointments. It strains relations — no matter how good they might otherwise be.

But all this could change after Egon Bahr's recent visit to China. Bahr took a long overdue step by introducing the SPD, the stronger of the two coalition

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## WORLD AFFAIRS

## How America's policies have changed under Reagan

The areas of conflict between America and Europe have grown since President Reagan took office two years ago, a seminar has been told.

Reinhard Rode, of the Hesse Foundation for Peace and Conflict Research, was one of the speakers at a Thomas Dehler Institute seminar in Würzburg. He was organized to find out if what Helmut Schmidt called "a family dispute" was avoidable.

Rode backed up his assertion that the conflict area has increased in the past two years by outlining the issues.

Domestic policy: the USA, he said, has reverted to its traditional conservative values. For Reagan, the state was not an instrument with which to remedy social injustices.

Everybody must be the master of his own destiny. Though Europe had also made social security cutbacks because of cash shortages, even the conservative parties stuck to the concept of a social state.

Foreign policy: Reagan had made the East-West conflict his central point of reference; and all crises in the Third World were seen from this point of view. Europe, on the other hand, wanted to salvage the positive results of the phase of détente and in the long run arrive at an East-West security partnership through arms controls.

Security policy: The Reagan Administration had concluded from the Soviet Union's expansionist foreign policy that Washington had to revert to a policy of strength. Western Europe, on the other hand, continued to pursue its dual strategy of seeking security not only with military means but also through negotiations. The public airing in Washington of the possibility of a limited nuclear war has increased Europe's mistrust of the deterrence doctrine.

Energy and raw materials: The high degree of America's independence in matters of raw materials and Europe's

great dependence on them have led to differing strategies. While Washington was prepared to use military power if necessary to secure access to raw materials and energy sources, the Europeans pinned their hopes on cooperation.

Economy: Here, a fundamental change had taken place in the USA. Reagan had faith in the self-healing powers of the economy and rejects any form of state control. Yet there had been protectionist violations of this concept in America's foreign trade, as shown by the European-American steel conflict and the Japanese-American dispute over motor vehicles.

The USA had reduced its economic aid in to the Third World in favour of military aid, and trade with the East Bloc is regarded as an instrument with which to weaken the USSR.

Apart from Britain, Europe pursues a Keynesian economic policy. Its policy towards the Third World is based on cooperation that includes "socialist deviators". The same applied to trade with the East Bloc.

Rode concludes that there is a large bundle of common and differing interests. In the security sector there was a clear dominance by the USA which, as a superpower, could operate on a global plane and pursue aims that differed from those of the Europeans.

In the economic sector, there was a fine balance of cooperation and competition. In the field of political strategies there was a trans-Atlantic tug-of-war in progress between conservative and social-liberal concepts. This made conflicts within the alliance normal.

Professor Christian Hacke of the Bundeswehr Academy in Hamburg differs. He says that there are conflicts that could be avoided if both sides knew more about each other.

It was a mistake by the Reagan Administration to have taken the discus-

sion on its foreign policy strategy to the marketplace.

He attributes this to the institutionalised conflicts within the US Administration, arising from the rivalry between the State Department, the National Security Council, the Pentagon and the White House.

The tendency to make unilateral decisions that goes back to Carter makes Washington's policy unpredictable even for its allies. This has been worsened by "a 20-year cascade of disrupted or failed presidencies in the USA".

Hacke showed a certain amount of understanding for the publicly proclaimed return to a policy of strength.

The election of Reagan, he said, resulted from a radical change of mood in America that followed the years of self-doubt in the wake of the Watergate affair.

From America's vantage point, the policy of détente has led to a worldwide deterioration of its position.

The withdrawal from Vietnam, Soviet successes in Africa, the toppling of the Shah, the Soviet Union's military buildup and the invasion of Afghanistan — all this is (rightly or wrongly) blamed on détente. The relative advantages that Europe might have derived from détente count little in this assessment.

Hacke was cautiously optimistic about the second half of Reagan's presidency. He said he was convinced that, under its new secretary of state, George Shultz, Washington would revert to the primacy of diplomatic and that it would stop applying the Soviet-American conflict pattern to all crisis in the world.

Reverting to the 1967 Harmel Report could provide a bridge for a uniform Alliance strategy. The Harmel Report stresses "the equal value of political détente and military security."

Rode and Hacke were agreed that the current trend points towards a Nixon-Kissinger course. This would mean a departure from the anti-communist crusade mentality in favour of a pragmatic, non-ideological foreign policy.

Helmut Schmidt's forecast that the dispute over the Soviet-European gas pipeline deal will be over by the end of the year seems realistic.

Wolfgang Schmieg  
(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 7 September 1982)

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parties, as a discussion partner in Peking.

The dialogue is to continue next spring when Willy Brandt visits China.

But what is even more important is that, Bahr has redefined Bonn-Peking relations — roughly along the following lines: Peking fears the hegemony of the two superpowers. It is worried about their world-wide rivalry and their unchecked arms race.

Peking also fears something that has increasingly been worrying Germany as well, not that Moscow will start a war but that the superpowers will slither into a war against their will.

Egon Bahr has stressed this common ground while emphasising the difference in accent between the two countries.

This was only possible because he seems to have been the first to succeed in explaining to the Chinese where Western Europe's security problem lies and where Europe sees the meaning and purpose of détente.

The development of over smaller nuclear weapons, Bahr explained, gradually makes a nuclear war more likely — a war that would ravage Europe

while leaving the superpowers unscathed. The existence of Old World would be threatened — unlike China.

Peking has always regarded détente as weak-kneed giving in to Moscow. Bahr explained that tension results in something China could not want: it strengthens the blocs and increases the power of the superpowers. Détente, on the other hand, achieves what China does want: it loosens the blocs and gives the small and medium countries scope of action.

Bahr's message was received, and the Peking leadership showed understanding and, to some extent, even agreement.

Bahr himself was surprised when the Chinese leaders agreed with his theory that nuclear weapons should be kept in the nuclear states.

Though the Chinese doubt that the Geneva talks on a limitation of medium-range missiles will lead to an agreement, they would welcome it if these negotiations led to an atom-free zone in Europe.

This would mean that China would henceforth no longer regard the Federal Republic of Germany as a military bastion against the Soviet Union but prefe-

rably as a political entity between the superpowers, although much closer to America.

Even in the light of the fact that Peking has been more aloof towards America since Reagan became president, there are new possibilities arising that could usher in a relationship with Peking that would bring advantages to all.

China would see its "third" position bolstered by Western Europe and its position towards both Moscow and Washington would be strengthened (which would coincide with Foreign Minister Genscher's Third World policy).

For the Soviet Union, closer ties between Bonn and Peking would become more tolerable if they were not directed against Moscow but were marked by a certain distance from both superpowers.

What applies to Western Europe as a whole also applies to the Federal Republic of Germany. It can deal with China in a relaxed fashion only once relations with Peking have been stripped of their anti-Soviet fixation.

Such relations would no longer be inhibited but would be based on a natural coincidence of interests. Peter Bender  
(Die Zeit, 10 September 1982)

## Middle East

Continued from page 1  
represent a break with the Camp David provisions.

In Israel's opinion this break has already been effected by the comprehensive plans put forward by the States.

It sees its options already ready before an autonomy ruling comes into being.

This is why the Israeli government so vehemently opposed to the plan Arabs have of course in principle comeled the plan, since it goes to the Camp David provisions.

They presented their own plan and join the Opposition). Under the Arab summit in Fez, which was the proposal put forward by Saudi-Arabia last year, implies the tence and recognition of an independent Israeli state in the Middle East.

But there is of course an accompanying demand for an independent Palestinian state, immediate participation in the PLO in all negotiations.

In addition, demands are made which are neither acceptable to the plan. The plans put forward by the summit do not even make it clear whether Jordan has a role to play in the autonomy negotiations for Palestine.

What then is the situation following the presentation of the American Middle East plan by President Reagan? The demands are not as far removed from the Arabs would like to see more.

Is this a bad situation? The States maintain their desired position and can always come back to it, as their own plan provides the basis for negotiations under the circumstances.

Admittedly, this only applies to one condition. The United States is not allowed too much mistrust in Israel about their political ideas.

They would only create an option which would harm their long-term ability to influence Israel, one of the main reasons for the interest shown by the Arab states in the United States.

The United States should be well being pressurised by their own inability by Arab states into trying to do too fast.

Very often the introduction of ideas has sparked off uncontrollable events, which have soured the good intentions.

Following the "presentation plans" tacit diplomacy should be as American Foreign Secretary Shultz has pointed out to all parties involved including the United States.

(Der Tagesspiegel, 12 September 1982)

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## HOME AFFAIRS

## Kohl resists challenge to topple the coalition

Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt, has rejected the Opposition to try and topple the government with a constructive vote of no confidence. He said in a two-day Bundestag state-of-the-nation address that he would not resign. Nor would he continue as head of a minority government (which he would be if the Bundestag decided to leave the coalition and join the Opposition). Under the Bundestag can elect a Chancellor if it can muster a majority.

He rejected the Christian Democrat leader, Helmut Kohl's demand that the Chancellor should resign because he had lost the support of the election.

Chancellor Schmidt's state of the nation address and the subsequent vote have left the public only slightly confused about the state of the nation but not a thing or two about the state of the coalition.

Chancellor Schmidt provided not only the answers to the debate; he also made it obvious that he had found his way out of the crisis.

He spoke without venom and bitterness which made him appear particularly convincing. He made it quite clear that he has no intention of stepping down although he is not clinging to office for the sake of power.

Who might not have fully understood this was later provided with explanation by Opposition leader Helmut Kohl.

Had the Social Democrats remembered

## Chancellor's challenge...

his state of the nation address, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt told Opposition leader Helmut Kohl: "If the Bundestag manages to rally a majority against the coalition... well, all right. Make use of this Article; put it to a constructive no-confidence vote and let's go ahead and vote on it."

...but the citizens of this country are fed up — and rightly so — with the constant talk, with fine words and rumours.

However is Chancellor after a constructive vote of no-confidence — which made you smile although all your years with it — has a right to make use of Article 68 and, if the president brings about the dissolution of the Bundestag and all new elections.

...but if you, Dr. Kohl, are elected, as my successor by the Bundestag you would have to bring new elections.

...because a Chancellor needs only legality in terms of the constitution... but also historic legitimacy.

...second, because you must first win the people what you really wish to do. In a parliamentary democracy, loss of identity can lead to loss of substance."

dpa  
(Bremer Nachrichten, 10 September 1982)

from a lack of self confidence. This was also in evidence when he said that he didn't want Kohl as Chancellor because he was loathe to place the government in the hands of "a new majority that has acquired no profile."

Those who subsequently listened to Kohl could not help understanding what Schmidt meant.

Candidate Kohl says he will do everything differently and, of course, better. But instead of saying what and how, he again stuck to generalities.

His only concrete proposal was that the parcels for Poland should again be handled by the post office free this winter. This was clearly too little.

There might be those who think that this is a bit of particularly clever tactics. After all, opinion surveys show that the conservatives are riding on the crest of the wave while Kohl continues to break records in using many words to say little. The fact is, that's all he can. And unfortunately, this does not exactly signify a silver lining for this country.

The truth is that Willy Brandt was right when he said that the rising popularity of the conservatives is not so much due to their own performance but to the weakness of the coalition.

Faced with a dire emergency, the Social Democrats in the Bundestag now seem to have closed ranks once more.

The SPD MPs all applauded the Chancellor, even on those parts of his address where he would not have expected it. And even some liberals, too.

Had the Social Democrats remembered

## Free Democrats' explanation...

FDP Chairman Hans-Dietrich Genscher told the Bundestag: "We Free Democrats have clear-cut principles that guide our stance in the government coalition."

"The first principle is dependability on specific issues. What has been agreed must be applied. Compromises must be tolerated even if a departure from our own programme along with contradictions to it hurt."

"The second principle is faith in each other and understanding for each other. We happen to be in a coalition, but even so we are an independent party with our own aims."

"The third principle is to act on specific issues."

"And, fourth, we must say that a coalition needs the will and the ability to reach agreement. This includes the willingness to correct yourself."

"Parties who jointly carry a government have to face joint responsibility... must compromise."

"Both government parties, FDP and SPD, have demonstrated in the past 12 months that they can."

"The limit of how far one can go must lie at the point where the parties demand too much of each other and where one of the two or indeed both are faced with the danger of losing their identity. In a parliamentary democracy, loss of identity can lead to loss of substance."

dpa  
(Bremer Nachrichten, 10 September 1982)

red earlier that eagerness to tackle problems need not be the same as constant faction fighting in public, their public sympathy would not have dropped as steeply as it has.

And perhaps the liberal coalition partner would not have been seized by the fear of political death that has now shaken the coalition in its foundations.

Kohl cannot yet accept the no-confidence challenge. He is still uncertain of how the FDP MPs would vote, and the Chancellor knows it.

Schmidt's words were actually addressed to the FDP rather than the opposition.

Anybody who wants a change should finally come out and say so, he said, "rather than hiding behind artful and unimportant arguments." This was clearly addressed to Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

He vehemently and intelligently defended the coalition's foreign policy, its security policy, its Ostpolitik and its policy towards the southern hemisphere.

What he said was a plea on behalf of the social-liberal policy which even the Social Democrats could not have bettered.

But, very much like a slalom champion, Genscher swung into the gate of common ground with the opposition — a common stand that had proved its worth in the past.

What Genscher really wanted to say about the coalition and a possible change remained hidden. Probably he would want to continue making foreign policy, security policy and Ostpolitik with a Social Democratic chancellor while preferring a conservative partner for economic and social policy.

But the Constitution has no provisions to that effect.

Werner Holzer  
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 September 1982)

## ... Opposition's rebuttal

CDU/CSU Bundestag leader Helmut Kohl replied to the Chancellor's address: "You mentioned a constitutional provision — the one that provides for a constructive no-confidence vote. Let's stick with realities. Your government is currently still in office and if everything you said were correct, you should have a majority of 43 MPs in the Bundestag. It's up to you to make this clear in an appeal. It's another thing — and this, too, is absolutely democratic — to consider what the voters have to say about developments in these two years."

"The truth is that your coalition has long forfeited all confidence on the part of the people."

"I therefore suggest — and this is a concrete answer to the issue of a no-confidence vote — that we all, and this includes SPD, CDU/CSU and FDP, await the decision of our fellow-citizens in the Hesse and Bavarian elections."

"That will be an interesting decision of general interest. Then, I think, we should continue the debate we started today."

"Two years ago, you boldly said that we're better off now than under the Kaiser in 1913. You said in an interview that the SPD-FDP coalition would be faced for the next four years with a task which no-one else could handle."

"I'm asking you: What have you achieved in these two years?"

dpa  
(Bremer Nachrichten, 10 September 1982)

## Schmidt shows who conducts the orchestra

Helmut Schmidt knows all the ropes and he is a master of rhetoric. And no one is a better image builder or knows better how to present himself on television.

Helmut Kohl, on the other hand, still gives the impression of being a moderately talented amateur actor, even after six years in the Bundestag. He can only dream of Schmidt's Oscar-worthy rhetoric.

These are qualities that matter little when it comes to dealing with specific issues. But they matter a great deal when it comes to power, as such. And this is what is now at stake in Bonn where the Bundestag has just debated the state of the nation — while meaning the state of the coalition.

Helmut Schmidt's politically and psychologically masterly address was targeted at the conservatives; but it hit the FDP.

The Free Democrats know now that Helmut Schmidt will not step down voluntarily and that a change of power can only be brought about through a constructive vote of no-confidence.

But this kind of no-confidence vote has been an unloved approach ever since Rainer Barzel's attempt in 1972 failed. The conservatives, once bitten, are twice shy.

The FDP, which is divided, is facing this obstacle with confusion and despondency.

Schmidt raised the no-confidence vote obstacle still higher for the Free Democrats by demanding that, if it all happens, it should be followed as soon as possible by new elections.

Even though the Constitution does not provide for such a "plebiscite" in case of a change, Schmidt can be certain that his demand will be praised. By calling for new elections he made a shift even riskier for the FDP.

The idea is that a constructive vote of no-confidence is not only to be interpreted as "stabbing the people's chancellor" Helmut Schmidt in the back but as deceiving the electorate as well.

The FDP left wing around Gerhart Baum, who seized upon the "stab in the back" formula, is probably not afraid of the trial of strength within the party. If the liberals switch partners they could be faced with a new split — and this is Genscher's main worry.

Genscher did not put his cards on the table in the Bundestag debate. So the coalition's fate remains in the balance and the tactical game goes on.

The constructive vote of no-confidence provisions that were made part of the Constitution in the light of the bitter Weimar experience can keep a government going even when it no longer has the confidence of the majority while the Chancellor still refuses to budge.

The debate showed no sign that the coalition partners want to come to terms with each other.

The conflict over the 1983 budget, resolving what should be done about government finances and the social security system still seems irreconcilable.

The deadlock in the coalition, with all its agony, is likely to continue, to the detriment of the nation.

"It can only be hoped that the Hesse state election will be a signal for Bonn."

Rainer Nöhrendorf  
(Hundeleblatt, 10 September 1982)



## ■ GERMANY

## Looking at the past and coming to terms with the present

The author, Rolf Paula, was the first German ambassador to the state of Israel, from 1965 to 1968.

The collapse was complete, an unprecedented catastrophe in the history of major nations, with Germany bearing the taint of crimes committed in its name.

And the mass murder of millions of European Jews was more appalling than all the other appalling misdeeds of which Germany stood accused.

A sense of community, energy and ingenuity paved the way to reconstruction. But it was more than human activity that helped the Germans to recover from the darkest moment in their history.

It was the influence of divine grace on history that enabled us to regain our collective personality and the respect of others, and that is something we must never forget.

In the 19th century Germans and Jews joined forces in a symbiosis of intellectual and artistic activity without precedent in the 2,000 years of the Dispersion.

Murder destroyed it all, just as it destroyed the political and moral foundations of Germany, and the only way to relay them was to make a fresh start in ties between Germans and Jews.

That meant ties with the State of Israel, which emerged as a safe port in the storm to save some of the Jews from catastrophe.

And that, for us, is the deeper meaning of the legislation and agreements brought about by the unwavering, unerring leadership of Konrad Adenauer and signed on 10 September 1952 in Luxembourg.

The German word for the reparations agreement was a euphemism for which there was no possible justification: *Wiedergutmachung*, literally: making it good.

Nothing could be made good. The dead cannot be brought back to life. But reparations were paid, and continue to be paid, in the coin in which reparations can but be paid.

For the first time in history, and fully justified by the magnitude, equally unique, of the crimes committed, reparations were paid to a state that did not even exist when the damage was done.

Reparations were paid in collective shame and awareness of historical and moral responsibility from which there was no escape. Reparations invariably entail a backward glance.

On this occasion they paved the way for a 'step forward', although there was and is no way in which they could lead to forgiveness by those who suffered so inexpressibly, let alone to make them forget.

What they did was pave the way for Germany to be readmitted to the community of nations.

Had it not been for the Luxembourg treaty with Israel, for the agreement with the Jewish Claims Conference and for the legislation governing individual reparations, the Federal Republic of Germany would have had a hard time of it.

Politically it would never have got a foot on the ground in the United States, and it would never have managed to play such an active part in European affairs either.

Many politicians may have felt the Federal Republic was indispensable in the struggle to maintain the freedom of the West, but that alone was not going to make the Germans acceptable to others again.

Let us not forget that great Jews and leaders of Israel, such as David Ben Gurion, Nahum Goldmann, Martin Buber and Moshe Sharett, followed the Germans' post-war progress.

So, after ties were established, did Golda Meir, Siegfried Moses, Abba Eban, Moshe Dayan and thousands more.

They did so, of course, with their own interests in mind but also with a keen understanding of and for the Germans, which was more than we could possibly expect.

For decades we have talked at length about *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, or coming to terms with the past. It is a subject that is more than difficult given the past with which one is to come to terms.

It is made even more complicated by involving the Germans, who have so much more trouble with their past than other nations seem as a rule to have.

They are a people whose view of, say, Frederick the Great or Bismarck is coloured to this day more by the current political views of the individual than by an understanding of history.

It is, perhaps, a wrong definition and a matter of coming to terms with the present, not the past. The past cannot be come to terms with, whereas constant attention must be paid to its repercussions on the present.

Given that no-one cannot opt out of history and historical responsibility, this is a constant task and we are duty-bound to worry about the Jews and their security and about the State of Israel.

Regardless whether our concern is accepted by Israelis and Jews, we are duty-bound to look on ourselves as their friends and to behave accordingly.

This entails no obligation to endorse every move an Israeli government makes. If we are at all concerned we must surely tell them, and even if the advice is rejected, that we feel Israel's policies are not in its own interest or that of the West.

We must say so frankly but with the tact we must likewise exercise. There are many ways of putting the message across; it need not be cried out in the market place.

The beginning of fighting in Lebanon was an act of self-defence aimed at ensuring the safety of raid-hit people in northern Israel after the UN peacekeeping force in southern Lebanon had failed for years to do so.

The subsequent course of fighting went beyond the bounds of self-defence, but no matter how much one may condemn it or feel it to be wrong, it cannot be compared with or put on a par with the holocaust the Jews underwent.

## Nahum Goldmann, 'statesman without a state'

In the prime of life Nahum Goldmann refused the *légion d'honneur* because it would mean a military ceremony at his funeral.

Yet as a 20-year-old in 1915 he wrote an eponym of Prussian militarism in Frankfurt, a piece of prose he later described as youthful folly.

But it stuck with him for so long that decades later the British are said to have refused to accept him as an ambassador on the strength of it.

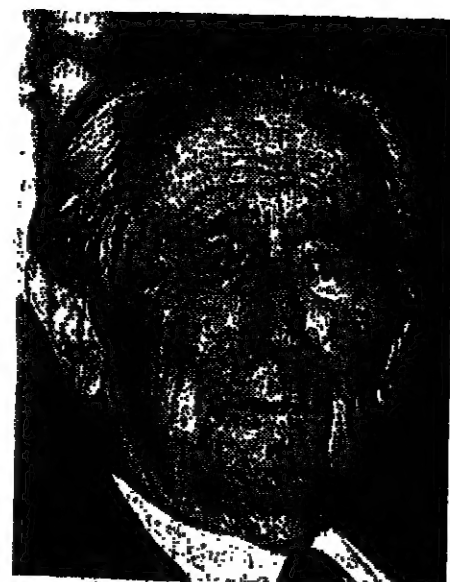
These are mere details in the life of one of the great spokesmen for Jewry in his generation.

Goldmann was born in Lithuania, at home the world over and died, aged 87, in Bavaria. He was buried in Jerusalem, in accordance with his wishes and in the place provided for the president of the Jewish World Congress.

One commentator once said it was impossible not to be fascinated by Nahum Goldmann, by the colour and contradictions of his life and the impression of his personality.

David Ben Gurion, a Jew of similar historical stature and often his friend and foe in one, once told Goldmann:

"You and I have been lucky enough to experience two miracles, the creation



Nahum Goldmann... 'embodiment of Jewish contradictions'. (Photo: Sven Simon)

of the State of Israel and the signing of the treaty with Germany.

"I was responsible for the first, you for the second, the only difference being that I have always believed the first miracle would come about but to the last minute never believed the second would."

Goldmann negotiated with Konrad Adenauer in 1952 the terms of a repa-

To compare the two is an evasion of what happened then in regard to what is going on in the Middle East now. The Israeli attack on the fighting force has nothing in common with what went on at Auschwitz like.

Carpet bombing of cities has been regarded as militarily pointless cause it fails to strike at the military substance. This was the case in west Beirut.

Politically it was a mistake and be condemned for the suffering and death among a civilian population on other side held to ransom.

Criticism of Israeli government has nothing to do with anti-Semitism as such. But when criticism oversteps the mark and bombards it are compared with the Nazis it is bad and no longer helping to do with justified criticism.

If others plunge headlong into excessive criticism they are not after this. To appreciate what went on in War II.

But when Germans do so it is a failure to understand the foundations on which we must have political activity.

It is also a foolish bid to shift the responsibility.

The groundwork laid for Jewish ties 30 years ago cannot be fact that these relations will bear a special burden for generations to come.

Thirty years ago the German-Jewish established relations with the Jewish process will continue even though the German cultural environment, begin may say today's Germany guilty of genocide, or the sons of who were guilty of it.

Such allegations need not deny the German-Jewish relations in the past that in overcoming despair we constantly gain fresh hope.

Rolf Friedemann (Dietrich, 4 September 1982)

agreement that was to not the faint State of Israel about DM2.5 billion. Yet this statement can be contrasted with a comment made by Golda Meir in the Knesset in 1970 when there was to be a possibility of Mr Goldmann meeting President Nasser.

"How," she asked, "can a man like him be sent to Cairo? Who does speak for?" Whoever it was, he was six languages and held nine different passports in the course of a long life.

First he was a Russian, born in July 1895 in Vishnevo in Tarnobrzeg, where his family were teachers and writers. When he was six the family moved to Frankfurt. He studied law, Berlin and Heidelberg and earned PhDs in law and philology.

In 1914 Spain looked after his interests in Germany, so he became a Spaniard. After the war and the flight of Tsarist Russia he became a Lithuanian.

It was not long before border guards made him a Polish citizen, but he became a naturalised German, and was stripped of German citizenship by the Nazis.

He escaped to Switzerland and became Honduran consul in Geneva. From 1935 he represented the Jewish Agency in Switzerland; it organised Jewish emigration to Israel.

In 1940 he escaped again, via Spain and Ireland to the United States where he went in his mission as a man for world Jewry.

In 1945 he became a US citizen. Continued on page 5

## RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS

## Youth puts the questions to Catholic Convention — and expects answers

Youth always has visions of a more just and peaceful world. More and more young people are coming to reject the Christian faith as the means to a better world, so it seems from the Catholic Convention in Düsseldorf.

They showed that they are determined to try and live up to the Christian vision of a better world — world peace, better environment, international social justice.

The convention became, because of this, a political meeting. The fact that there was also a drive towards religious purification and renewals of faith did not alter this.

It might seem from this that there is an element of unreality in the expectations, a head-in-the-clouds attitude. But there was not. Delegates put questions to the church which demand concrete answers.

There appeared to be little room for compromise.

Continued from page 4

up Israeli citizenship in 1964, finally, in 1969, for a Swiss passport.

One of the contradictions of a rich man was that he, as a Jewish who grew up in the German cultural environment, could not have become a musician.

His contribution to history as an academic subject was the first 10 volumes of the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, published in Berlin between 1929 and 1933.

But Zionism, the other idea to which he devoted his life, made him the very opposite of the introverted artist or academic he wanted to be.

He was a politician and a speechmaker once said he had held over 6,000 speeches. He helped to promote the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine.

He was president of the Jewish World Congress from 1949 to 1978 and president of the World Zionist Federation from 1956 to 1968.

From a personalised view of history he may be seen as one of the men, if not six languages and held nine different passports in the course of a long life.

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Cardinal Höffner's statement that Christians looking to their religion for answers can arrive at differing conclusions even on such decisive issues as safeguarding of peace was a welcome departure from the dogmatism that allows but one position. But this confronts the church with the dilemma of an unsatisfactory answer along the lines of having one's cake and eating it.

This meshing of politics and religion also became obvious at the official Catholic Convention in the Düsseldorf fair exhibition halls. But it was even more obvious at the "Grassroots Catholic Convention" held at the same time.

The grassroots meeting resulted from the fact that the Central Committee of German Catholics, ZdK (the organisers of the official Convention and Germany's highest Catholic lay body), missed the chance provided in Freiburg in 1978.

That year's convention was the first

Arabs and preferred militant self-assertion. He would have preferred a Switzerland in the Middle East.

Goldmann, one of the founding fathers of the State of Israel, stood for the Dispersion, the 80 per cent of the world's Jews who live outside Israel.

He was a world citizen, a statesman without a state, to quote the German title of his memoirs, published in 1970. He was an embodiment of Jewish contradictions.

As a 16-year-old he wrote in his diary: "If only God were to give the Jews a state at last we would no longer need to worry about them."

Bernhard Heimrich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 31 August 1982)

A poster in the Spiritual Centre during the Catholic Convention in Düsseldorf: "I thank you, Lord, for the wonderful feeling I experience here. So many people are inspired for your sake."

The poster is one of the features located between spectacular events, discussions and demonstrations — all of which have a considerable bearing on the effectiveness and success of the convention.

In Hall VI of the fairgrounds, the Spiritual Centre, there is a ponderous activity in evidence while heated debates are in progress elsewhere.

On the ground floor there is the loud and cheerful singing of the Youth Mass, the next floor is plastered with posters telling those who come and go to observe silence.

There is room for all forms of religious side by side.

In the separate meditation rooms there are young people lying, crouching, sitting or standing — and who is to tell whether they simply want a bit of peace and quiet or whether they are concentrating their minds on the pictures, texts and music or whether they just want to be close to their girl or boyfriend?

The silence is absolute in the Room of Eucharistic Adoration. Here, most of the people are on their knees, engrossed

in silent prayer. The old and the young together.

in many years to be attended by masses of young people. In fact, they took it over.

But the ZdK refused and still refuses to depart from the beaten path of conventional politics on social issues.

The increased number of young people (compared with the 1980 Berlin Convention) who flocked to what has become known as "initiative church from below" and the benevolent attitude towards this protest movement within the church among many of those who attended only the official convention should have been an eye-opener for the ZdK.

But it wasn't. Hans Maier, the ZdK president, deceived himself and his organisation when he said that aggression and conflicts have evidently declined since the Freiburg Convention. This, in fact, appears to have put his mind at rest.

Though this is essentially right, it can hardly put anybody's mind at rest that the most committed of critics within the church had to organise their own convention. It was attended predominantly by young academics.

Young people still come in masses to the ZdK conventions, thus encouraging adults as well. But how long will this be so if the representatives of both streams prove unable to arrive at a consensus?

The theme of the Convention ("turn around and believe — renew the world") should not stop short of the church, for it, to, is in need of renewal.

If this were not so, the chasm between the church's day-to-day life and the Catholic Convention would be nonexistent. This applies particularly to religious events such as mass, prayer and confession.

The fact that the Düsseldorf Conven-

tion, the third in the "new era since Freiburg," was more heavily characterised by questions of faith than its two predecessors should not delude the church hierarchy into believing that traditional church life is on the threshold of a renaissance.

In view of the immobility of the mammoth organisation the Catholic Church, it is difficult to transfer the vitality of these conventions to individual parishes.

The Düsseldorf meeting has done justice to the label that has been attached to these conventions, i.e. that they are seismographs of society.

Peace policy and the problems of a more conscious life were the central issues — but largely due to pressure from youth.

It was conspicuous, however, that the convention dealt only fleetingly with the problem of foreigners in Germany, one of the most important social issues.

As a result, the convention failed to make use of the opportunity to overcome some of the dissension on this point between church and politics.

It would have made sense to seek an extensive discussion on this issue with the many politicians who were there.

At many of the other conventions, these politicians were superfluous and only obstructed the dialogue.

The ZdK should learn its lesson for the next convention in Munich in 1984. After all, the main function of such meetings is to promote a dialogue and to argue it out in a spirit of tolerance.

It was this that attracted so many people to Düsseldorf, and the ZdK would have done more justice to them had it been more tolerant towards the Grassroots Convention.

It would then have made such an alternative meeting not needed in Munich.

But this would, of course, presuppose a willingness to compromise on the part of the other side as well.

Günther M. Wiedemann

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 6 September 1982)

## Heated debate and the search for faith

in silent prayer. The old and the young together.

What is happening here and perhaps what is being set in train can be guessed from the many notes pinned to the prayer board.

There you read of sickness, survival anxiety and marriages and partnerships that are on the brink of foundering. Children pray for their parents and vice versa.

Judging by the handwriting, it must have been a very young person who wrote: "Help me, Lord, so that I am not so lonely any more."

Somebody by the name of Ute prays for the ability "to cope with all situations in life, including the teachers at school."

Others offer their thanks for the fact that every day is a new adventure for them.

The atmosphere in the Spiritual Centre and the prayer notes show the other side of the Catholic Convention, the turning about and seeking faith in personal life, the admission of weaknesses and hope for help.

These are the same people who the evening before took to the streets to demonstrate or who stood up and loudly voiced their criticisms in the discussion forums.

Many use this opportunity to be silent in solidarity with others or to seek somebody to talk to or to look for a confessor. Everybody brings his own burden.

Masses are crowded. Even in the early hours of the morning there are many people up and about, wanting to take part in the service of the "Roadside Churches."

Throughout the day, there are well-attended prayer services, meditations, etc. — all of it extending deep into the night.

And then a torchlight procession of several thousand people forms to march through the city centre of Düsseldorf.

Here the participants are mostly older people who otherwise seem to be lost among the huge number of young people at the fairgrounds.

The BDKJ organises silent marches for peace that same evening. The marches end with a prayer, the theme being "Our life — our faith."

Despite the many social problems, faith comes into its own.

Peter Schilder

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 September 1982)



## FINANCE

## The pipeline imbroglio: the expensive price of intransigence

Washington appears to be softening its attitude in the dispute over the gas-pipeline deal between Europe and the Soviet Union.

Sanctions against three (two French and one British) firms supplying parts for the pipeline have been eased, and the European governments involved in the deal are taking this as a sign that President Reagan does not want to worsen the conflict.

Although the move is not much more than a gesture, it shows that the members of the Administration who opposed the sanctions in the first place are now being listened to.

France takes the view that this hesitant American step is a sign that Europe should take a firm stand. That is what the French delegate said at a meeting with the British, Italians and Germans.

But the British and German delegates urged immediate negotiations with Washington to resolve the conflict.

It has become obvious over the past few weeks that the Europeans and Americans have, through intransigence, got themselves into an impossible position for members of an alliance.

There is little doubt that the damage to the alliance is greater than anyone thought or — in Moscow's case — dreamed of.

The trade dispute has developed into a political affair involving not only sovereignty considerations but also national prestige and the very personal sensitivities of the heads of state and government.

But the crux of the dispute lies in the



total difference of views between President Reagan and his European partners on policy towards the Soviet Union.

Huge European credits will enable the Soviet Union to relieve its chronic shortage of foreign exchange through annual revenues of at least \$10bn to \$12bn resulting from its gas sales; and this relief will extend over decades.

The terms of these credits are unusually favourable and the agreed gas prices are relatively high, experts say.

A deal has been concluded with a superpower whose intentions towards Western Europe are uncertain — a deal that goes far beyond any normal trading.

The argument that this mammoth deal would preserve many jobs in the European countries concerned applies to individual companies, but it also shows economic dependence. Moreover, it is not exactly the best testimony to Europe's political farsightedness and strategic acumen.

The Americans warned against this deal as far back as the Carter Administration.

The Reagan Administration also left no doubt as to its reservations and made every effort to dissuade the Europeans from going through with it.

At the latest, the December 1981 move barring American companies

from delivering pipeline components should have made the Europeans prick up their ears.

But even this unmistakable signal was ignored by the European governments — either wittingly or unwittingly.

Europe evidently believed that all President Reagan wanted was to show his disapproval of the deal and that the licensed production of compressors by European companies could continue without a hitch.

Contrary to expectations, however, Reagan in June extended the supply ban to American subsidiaries in Europe and to European licensees.

From an American point of view, Washington's move is consistent with what has happened so far. But it is clear that it has thrown down the gauntlet to the Europeans.

America wanted to force its allies to toe Washington's line.

This was a provocation to Europe's independence and France's President Mitterrand who is particularly sensitive, was deeply hurt.

But even Britain's Mrs Margaret Thatcher, who is more concerned with good relations with America than any other European head of government, objected to Reagan's unilateral decision.

Justified though the American position in the dispute might be, Washington made several mistakes.

For one thing, the Europeans were never clearly told what the American

intentions were — at least not early in the dispute.

The extension of sanctions to individual European companies was wrong psychologically if for no other reason. This is just no way to treat partner-states. The propaganda machinery of latent anti-Americanism in Europe was thus provided with welcome ammunition.

It seems rather curious that the American Administration should be so concerned over Europe's energy supply. If it were, it would lack faith in Europe's ability to look after its own interests.

And then Washington exposed the country to the suspicion of applying double standards.

Despite the obvious differences between the gas deal and American sales to the Soviet Union, Reagan's decision to extend the grain deal can be seen as a sign to go ahead with the trade war against the Soviet Union, in pursuit of one's own economic interests.

What matters now is to limit the damage.

The Europeans would make yet another mistake if they misinterpreted the first signs of a softening of the American position as a sign to go ahead with the deal carte blanche.

Reagan's demand for stricter controls on East-West trade does not mean that Europe must engage in a trade war against the Soviet Union, as supporters of the deal claim.

The contention that economic sanctions leave the Soviet Union with no choice but to accept the American position is a hot stove today — let's go to the bottom of it.

But this does not change the fact that Europe must safeguard its long-term interests and that it must contribute its share in a bid to arrive at the best possible political understanding with the United States.

Heinz Stadler  
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 8 September 1982)

an institutionalised safety net for private insolventcies.

The major member nations of the IMF are now trying to establish the blueprints to that effect are ready for a final decision by the March.

Main topic of discussion is an increase of the capital quotas of the member states by about DM100bn. But it is still uncertain whether this quota increase (which Americans consider too much) will be effected soon enough to provide emergency cases.

The conference is therefore also discussing the establishment of a special IMF assistance fund to be used in emergencies and similar assistance commitments by the major countries.

What matters is that there is awareness of the need for a safety net and that the IMF should assume the role of a fire brigade preventing fires through intervention.

If this happens, private banks will be more willing to extend credit to countries no longer considered worthy in strict terms.

But the crisis nations must also make efforts of their own. To urge this is the main task of the IMF.

Financial help can be no more than a bridging assistance. It is no substitute for domestic adaptation measures. The safety net now being made by the IMF will therefore not be so generous as to discourage self-help.

Claus Dierig  
(Die Welt, 7 September 1982)

## BUSINESS

## Wienerwald: the barbecued chickens that came home to roost

Wienerwald chicken restaurant chain is in financial trouble. It has applied to courts for "composition," a type of bankruptcy. The founder, Friedrich Jahn, became a legend after building up the business from a small Munich pub to 1,500 restaurants in Europe, Africa and Japan.

He is one of the last of the old generation of post-war entrepreneurs who, like Max Grundig, Helmut Horten, Jochen Neckermann and Heinz Nixdorf, built up the opportunities by the years of post-war reconstruction.

John's Wirtschaftswunder career led him to take a risk at the drop of a dime and to ride the crest of a wave.

He and Josef Neckermann had the first signs of a softening of the American position as a sign to go ahead with the deal carte blanche.

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Claus Dierig  
(Die Welt, 7 September 1982)

the market to buy his chickens while his wife Hermine, did everything from serving to scrubbing the toilets.

To make ends meet and keep his restaurant going Jahn took occasional jobs as stand-in waiter in other restaurants.

His simple idea of building up a chain that would rest on a single product requiring little work and personnel proved a resounding success in the early 1950s.

His second restaurant (named Wienerwald) was opened in Stuttgart in 1956. Further outlets followed in quick succession at the rate of up to 30 a year.

When the company celebrated its 10th anniversary, Jahn had 174 restaurants employing 4,200 people and generating annual sales of DM233m. He was Germany's biggest restaurateur.

He hired a team of interior decorators to provide the standardised decor that would appeal to German consumers. And in the late 1950s he took the next step by acquiring a chicken farm of his own.

But the more his empire expanded, the more it became obvious that his managerial abilities were not enough for an enterprise of this magnitude that needed special structures of management and organisation.

Like Alfons Müller-Wipperfurth, who specialised in cheap clothing and who drove his Rolfs from outlet to outlet to inspect his far-flung business, Chicken Czar Jahn used his private jet to personally keep an eye on every single restaurant, even once his sales had passed the DM1bn mark.

Whenever he thought it necessary, he demonstrated to the staff how a chicken should be served correctly.

And even this spring, when his staff shared his anxiety over the future of the chain, he criss-crossed the United States

### Service became sloppy, restaurants became scruffy, and the decor became obsolete

in a rented car to inspect his many outlets.

While other great entrepreneurs like Korf and Nixdorf hired top managers to run their businesses, Jahn stubbornly refused to share his power with anyone.

Key positions usually went to reliable personal friends.

His travel business, which operated at a considerable loss, was entrusted to the management of Otto Hiehl, a former spa director in Munich.

But the decisive executive role was increasingly assigned to Günter Steinberg, a former camera retailer who had married Jahn's daughter, Margot.

Although the creditor banks concede that Jahn's son-in-law was a hard worker, even well-disposed observers doubted his ability to head a major company. They also doubted that the inexperienced crown prince was the right man to put the insolvent business back on its feet.

Jahn's obsession with having the final say was disastrously coupled with his

fear of socialism and the trade unions — a fear fueled by his political friends in Bavaria.

To prevent union officials and works councils from interfering in his business and depriving him of the fruits of his labours, he divided up his empire into four independent "counties" with no more than 2,000 staff members each, making them safe from the trade unions' influence under the terms of the 1976 Co-Determination Act.

By now, his Wienerwald restaurants were the subsidiaries of more than 100 corporations which in turn were owned by a subsidiary holding company which in its turn was owned by Wienerwald S. A. Luxembourg of the Friedrich Jahn Foundation in Vaduz, Liechtenstein.

This clever breakdown, worked out by lawyers and tax experts, has for many years obscured the true position of the Wienerwald group and is still making it impossible for creditors to get an exact picture of the concern's financial position.

The confusing structure of his international conglomerates and his business relations with two dozen German and Swiss banks (each of them familiar with only a section of his activities) made it easy for Jahn to obtain ever new loans for the risky expansion schemes of the past few years.

Jahn, an Austrian with a Swiss passport living in Munich, was worried about the political and economic future of Europe and it was this that prompted him to become increasingly involved abroad.

To start with, he took over the 270 typical family restaurants in 28 states of the Lums Corporation in Miami, Florida. This was followed by the takeover of the International Houses of Pancake (IHOP).

Then, both these chains were considered to be in terrible trouble and were by far outperformed by such leaders in this line of business as McDonald's, Kentucky Fried and Burger King.

Jahn has so far invested DM135m in the two companies but has been unable to put them into the black.

Experts regarded it as even more incongruous that, in 1979, he decided to branch out into the travel business — at a time when travel was not doing well.

Pressed for money, Jahn sold the travel business this spring for the ridiculous amount of DM400 000. The business was bought by the Düsseldorf charter firm LTU. Insiders estimate that Jahn's travel venture had cost him DM30m by the time he sold it.

While Jahn kept pumping all the money he could lay his hands on into his American and non-catering ventures, the restaurant business at home started showing serious cracks.

Departing from his original idea of restricting the menu to barbecued chicken and, thus keeping staff to a minimum, Jahn started experimenting with new dishes.

Service became sloppy, the restaurants became scruffy, the decor became obsolete, and there were a lack of clever marketing ideas. People went to new opposition, like McDonald's, instead.

This May, when it became clear that the business was in a crisis, Jahn had to pay the penalty for not having chosen



Friedrich Jahn... more than just tough luck. (Photo: dpa)

one bank which would have given him some management ideas.

He has 24 banks, and none are particularly committed to the enterprise. He owes them a total of DM260m.

Though all creditor banks agreed to take no action until November to enable Wienerwald to cash its assets, and though they pumped an additional DM20m into the firm, they have been worried from the very beginning that new credits would not be used to save the German side of the operation but would find their way to Switzerland from where the US ventures were launched.

In May, the Swiss banks sent a circular to all Wienerwald creditors, leaving it to them whether they wanted to continue exercising restraint or look after their own interests separately.

Deutsche Bank went ahead and secured seizure rights on the company's office block in Munich.

The Swiss banks accused Deutsche Bank of having violated the agreement to take no action for the time being and of having torpedoed the rescue attempts by attaching saleable assets.

But insiders suspect that the Swiss move was a pretext to force the Swiss holding company to file for composition.

The Swiss had evidently realised that the prescribed slimming cure stood no chance of success.

Apart from selling the Munich gourmet restaurant Schwarzwälder to the hotelier Falk Volkhardt (Bayerischer Hof) and his travel business to LTU, no assets worth mentioning have been sold by Jahn so far.

The American companies that are operating at a loss would be hardest to sell.

It is doubtful whether creditors can count on Jahn's private assets, estimated at DM60m. These are also involved in the composition proceedings.

Some of these assets are in the Bahamas and are unlikely to be fully accessible.

The actual victims of the Wienerwald insolvency are the staff members, many of whom are likely to lose their jobs. They now have to foot the bill for the severe mismanagement.

Friedrich der Grosse, as admirers called him, did not simply have a streak of tough luck. What he displayed was a shocking lack of acumen and an unusual degree of personal and financial overestimation.

Leftist "reformers" will rub their hands with glee.

Hans-Otto Eglau  
(Die Zeit, 3 September 1982)



## DEFENCE

## Redeployment plans for American forces in Germany give security issue new angle

In principle Bonn is all in favour of American plans to redeploy US forces in Germany. In practice it is short of cash and worried how much it will cost.

The German government has known for some time that the Americans planned in September to enter into negotiations with Bonn.

The US authorities have finally decided to transfer three brigades now based near Frankfurt to nearer the GDR border.

So the security policy debate in the Federal Republic of Germany, which had long dealt exclusively with nuclear strategy, now has a fresh issue.

It is one that has brought the debate back down to earth from the heights of a simulated exchange of nuclear missiles, but that doesn't make a solution to the new problem any easier.

One of several considerations involved is hard cash, and money is nowadays the stuff of nightmares, not just dreams.

The problem of relocating US forces in Germany dates back to 1946, when the Allies stationed troops in their respective zones of occupation with a view to keeping them under control as effectively as possible.

It seemed easier to station troops where barracks, airfields and exercise facilities already existed.

There has been limited relocation since the Federal Republic of Germany joined Nato, but by and large deployment remained as it was.

In other words, it was not as a rule in keeping with operational requirements related to a possible engagement with Warsaw Pact forces.

As a result, a number of US units in particular would need to advance or transfer forces to where they are supposed to be in the event of an attack.

This clearly has repercussions on a policy of forward defence relying on the shortest possible reaction time by Nato forces to a surprise attack by the other side.

But the fact that several units are not ideally stationed, especially US units, is not the only reason why relocation is being considered.

An additional factor is that the Americans are in serious trouble with their forces stationed in the Rhine-Main conurbation, with its ready access to narcotics.

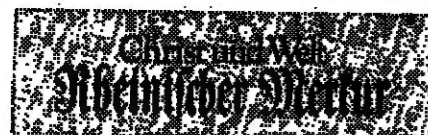
Deep inroads into the morale and fighting strength of what used to be such a proud US expeditionary force have badly hit its reputation and self-esteem.

The Americans have been very happy with rural locations, such as Carlstedt, near Bremen, where they feel they have established a friendly ties with local people than in 30 years in the cities.

So that is another reason why they may have decided to finally get down to a move they have had in mind for years. But it is by no means the only reason.

Most of the existing US exercise facilities date back to earlier days and requirements are not suitable at best for manoeuvres by partially motorised forces.

They are steadily less satisfactory for putting through their paces units that are highly mobile and equipped with long-range weapons.



The result has been that American forces have had to make expensive and unpopular moves to the few parts of the country with suitable terrain for exercises of the kind required.

These military convoys cost time and money. They hampered civilian traffic and were unpopular with Germans, which complicated matters further.

The obvious solution was to permanently relocate forces nearer the areas in question, which would have the added advantage that a majority of US forces could exchange quarters that have not been repaired for a decade.

They would be rehoused in barracks either newly built or renovated.

Given such sensible and attractive reasons for transferring US forces nearer to the GDR border, it is surprising that specific moves were not envisaged until US ambassador Stoessel approached the Bonn government in 1980.

One of the ideas he put forward was a master restationing plan envisaging the initial transfer of three brigades, to be followed at a later stage by redeployment of all other redeployed US units.

Mr Stoessel said Washington wanted Bonn to share the costs. The German share was to be DM2.5bn in the first stage and DM8.5bn in the second.

By the terms of the agreement on the basis of which US troops are stationed in Germany America is responsible for construction costs arising from redeployment.

But both he and the American members of the working party set up as a result of his proposals left no doubt that Germany was expected to contribute toward the costs.

It would not be the first time. In the days when Georg Leber was Defence Minister in Bonn Germany footed much of the bill for renovation of US quarters.

Bonn also paid 50 per cent of the cost of building the new barracks in Carlstedt. So the German government is in an unenviable position.

On the one hand it realises the military sense of the master restationing plan and has agreed to it in principle.

On the other, no-one on the German side knows just where the DM2.5bn for its share of the first stage of redeployment is to come from.

Bonn cannot afford to insist on the provisions of the post-war troop statutes. They were laid down at a time when US prosperity seemed unlimited and Europe able to pay seemed strictly limited.

German-American relations are deteriorating from one day to the next, and the Americans claim the Germans agreed to the financial proposals made in connection with the master restationing plan.

## The Starfighter saga goes on as number 252 crashes

The Bundeswehr lost its 252nd Starfighter, the version of the Lockheed F-104 supplied to the Luftwaffe, in a crash near Munich last month.

Some look on the ill-starred fighter as a sporting challenge to air aces; others see it as the killer of 108 pilots and an unknown number of civilians.

The authorities have constantly sought to improve the plane's safety record, but the Starfighter remains a household word as a loser.

The saga has been a succession of individual tragedies. At the end of June a Starfighter pilot died because he wanted to avoid crashing into a village.

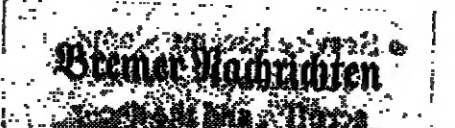
He managed to keep his burning aircraft aloft over Malgersdorf, Lower Bavaria, and crashed in a field of barley 100 yards beyond the last house in the village.

He pressed the ejector button too late to save his own life.

More than 20 years ago, Defence Minister Franz Josef Strauss, now the Bavarian Premier, overrode stiff opposition in deciding to order 915 Starfighters.

The story has since been scarred by one tragedy after another. In the mid-60s there were so many crashes that the plane caused a political crisis.

The crashes were mainly because crews didn't have enough experience to handle such a complex weapon system.



tem. Technical backup was also inadequate.

Strict reforms were made when General Steinhoff was appointed inspector of the Luftwaffe in 1966. Maintenance and servicing were greatly improved and the number of hours flown increased.

It was he who coined a phrase that has since often been repeated. The Starfighter, he said, was an outstanding plane but would not stand for human error.

A Starfighter pilot who has logged over 4,000 hours says that after long years of marriage he is still not entirely sure of his wife, and he is not sure of the Starfighter either.

It is a plane that must be flown at extremely high speed. It is less an aircraft, more a manned missile with stubby wings, according to one expert opinion.

It reaches an altitude of 300 metres, or 1,000ft, in five seconds, and pilots say it is no use relying on feel to fly it.

You must keep a constant watch on all instruments, and that at twice the speed of sound, otherwise the plane will take its revenge.

The plane was originally designed as a fighter and redesigned for a variety of

uses by the Bundeswehr, such as reconnaissance or as a fighter bomber. That created serious new problems since, as experts estimate, over 2,000 technical alterations in design were necessary.

Many crashes were due to design and breakdowns attributable to alterations. At great expense the two handicaps were gradually eliminated.

They were that the Starfighter's technical drawbacks (in connection with maintenance and so on) made it vulnerable to environmental influences (bird-hits and the weather).

The Starfighter was fitted with new engines and afterburners. Runways were extended. And for some time Starfighter crashes have been due to reasons that used to be a hallmark of the luckless plane.

Luftwaffe officers say that in strict terms the Starfighter's present performance is among the best, but the element of human error continues to be extremely dangerous.

"Our training methods are the best," one says, "but mustn't forget that the man in the cockpit is a human being."

Training programmes for Luftwaffe pilots at Luke, Arizona, are phased out early next year. The Starfighter's days are numbered.

The Bundesmarine has already begun to refit with the twin-jet Tornado. Next year it will be the Luftwaffe's turn.

1983 the Bundeswehr will ground Starfighters for good when they are largely automated.

On board the Tornado, systems are largely automated.

(Bremer Nachrichten, 27 August 1982)

## THE ENVIRONMENT

## Greenpeace's battle against nuclear waste at sea



hulls of ships chartered by Spanish environmentalists and Greenpeace to have abandoned its the-clock vigil in the Bay of Biscay.

These objections need not be taken too seriously, but the situation could well take a turn for the worse if there were to be massive resistance by local authorities in the areas to which the ships are to be transferred.

That could lead to a further deterioration of German-American ties, a number of comments that have already been made, not just by left-wingers.

Bonn would do well to settle the matter by arriving at a swift decision and clearing the wind out of the sails of any barge that might occur.

The US demands need not all be accepted without further ado, but the deployment as such is definitely welcomed and ought to be tackled in such a way as to ensure that Germany pays a fair share of the bill.

The exact share must take into account the relative strength of the economy and the US economies.

Security, and better deployed US forces means greater security, is not to be had free of charge.

Hans Rühl  
(Rheinischer Merkur/Christuskirche, 3 September 1982)

borg, maintaining a round-the-clock vigil, and the mission had been constantly on the brink of being called off because of heavy seas and swell.

Yet the environmentalists managed to hamper the Dutch freighter seriously by continually sending their dinghies into the lion's den: the stern trap door through which the drums were rolled.

The steel drums continually plummeted to the seabed, narrowly missing the daredevil dinghies. Set in concrete they contained low- and medium-grade radioactive waste from hospitals and laboratories.

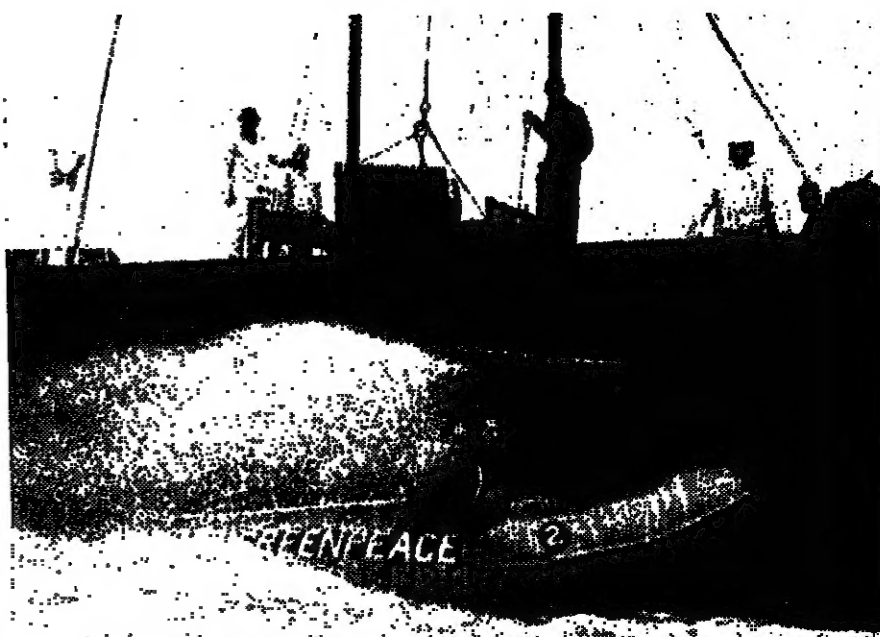
The drums also contained clothing and equipment from nuclear power stations and the bodies of contaminated laboratory animals.

The Dutch freighter's cargo was over 3,000 tons of radioactive waste to be dumped on the seabed at a depth of between 3,500 and 4,000 metres about 700km off the Spanish coast.

The trough of the Atlantic fault seems destined to be the nuclear waste dump of the industrialised West.

But reports of the environmentalists' campaign having been abandoned seem to be premature. Their aim continues to be to prevent drums of radioactive waste from being dumped in the Atlantic.

At the time of writing the situation seemed likely to deteriorate, with two



A Greenpeace motorised rubber boat shows its paces in an earlier operation against nuclear waste dumping operations. (Photo: dpa)

freighters having laden nuclear waste from Belgium and Switzerland in Zeebrugge.

They were due to set sail for the Bay of Biscay too with between 5,000 and 6,000 tons of waste to be dumped off the Spanish coast.

It is unlikely to be an easy, routine job for their crew. While the *Sirius* refuelled and restocked supplies in Brest, France, a second Greenpeace ship, the *Cedurien*, was waiting in Ostend for the two freighters to set sail.

So the next war of nerves was only a matter of time.

Greenpeace campaigners say dumping nuclear waste at sea is appallingly irresponsible as practised by many European countries. It testifies to an *après moi le déluge* outlook.

For one, the deadly waste is irretrievably consigned to the seabed, whereas down mines or in old underground workings it could, if need be, be recovered.

What is more, they doubt whether the drums will stay undamaged and without leaking on the seabed for centuries, and what will happen if a drum breaks up under pressure or rusts and leaks?

Greenpeace activists are in no doubt what will then happen. Tiny living creatures will introduce radioactive particles into the marine food cycle.

Eventually the radiation will reach the edible fish in surface waters, and find its geiger-ticking way into the frying pan in thousands of European homes.

Environmentalists are worried there might be a repetition of the situation off the coast of California, where between 1946 and 1956 over 47,500 drums of radioactive waste were dumped into the Pacific.

Dozens of underwater photographs taken on behalf of the US Environmental Protection Agency are said to show drums that have been torn apart and their concrete-clad contents slowly disintegrating.

Fish still swim merrily among this lethal waste. In 1980, when the story came to light, a Californian scientist said it might be only the tip of a radioactive iceberg.

Government research scientists in the European countries concerned say such fears are wildly exaggerated. They include a spokesman for the Swiss Nuclear Research Institute.

As a trainload of 850 tons of concrete-clad contaminated waste arrived in Zeebrugge, Belgium, to be taken on board one of the two freighters he had this to say:

It was only low-grade radioactive waste and there was less than one kilo-

gram in each drum. It would have ceased to be radioactive long before the drums were destroyed by seabed pressure and salt water.

For Greenpeace this summer's campaign to hamper Atlantic dumping operations is merely the highlight of a long succession of operations.

Before the environmentalists decided to resort to such drastic measures they had exhausted all options of conventionally preventing dumping.

A last-minute appeal to the Dutch supreme administrative court failed. Facts relevant to the environment are not, it ruled, relevant to the case.

Seabed dumping of low- and medium-grade radioactive waste did not contravene the law as it stood. This was true, as Greenpeace had to admit.

By the terms of the London convention that covers dumping at sea countries that lack suitable final resting places on their own territory are entitled to deposit low- and medium-grade radioactive waste at certain points on the seabed.

Germany has not yet resorted to this drop-and-forget method in the Atlantic. It still has room to store nuclear waste drums down a disused mine near Brunswick.

But a spokesman for the Bonn Interior Ministry is not prepared to rule out the possibility that Germany might use the Atlantic seabed in the future.

In response to the Greenpeace appeal the Dutch Energy Research Centre, which is responsible for the deep-sea dumping, filed a case to try and stop the eco-flotilla.

Benjamin Asscher, the Dutch judge, issued an injunction threatening a fine of 250,000 guilders a day for every day on which dumping was prevented.

But Greenpeace activists are willing to run limited risks to life and limb and to break the law. They include David McTaggart, a Scot who is former owner of a construction company, for instance.

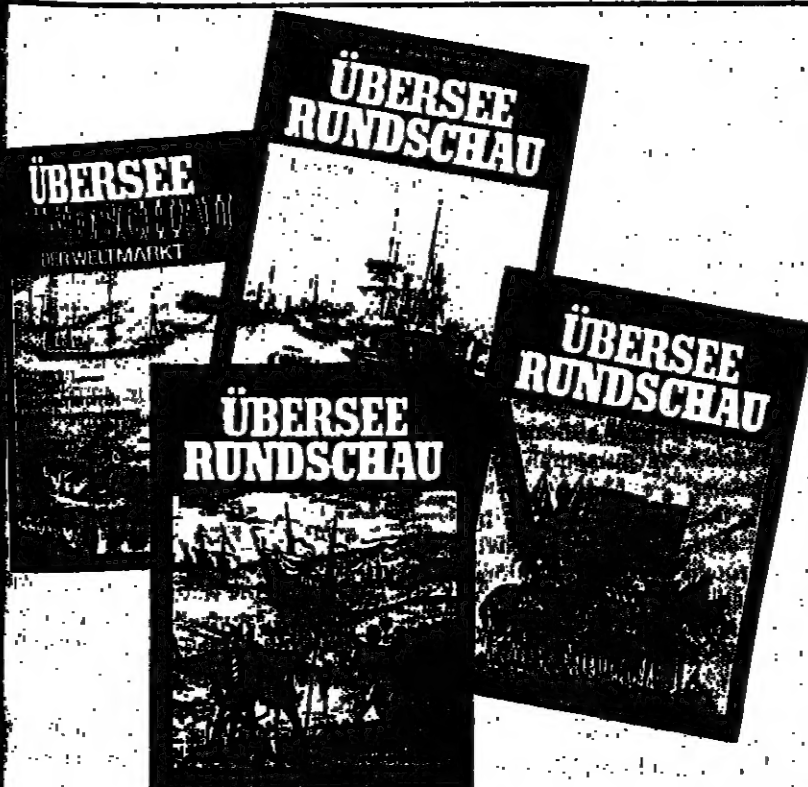
In 1972 he spent weeks on board a yacht in the South Pacific in the danger zone round Mururoa Atoll, where France held nuclear tests.

In the end the French discontinued the tests and now only do them underground.

"I felt helpless, outraged," he says, "I got so mad that I wasn't worried any more about the law."

The tactics and objectives of Greenpeace activities are always skillfully chosen, by the McTaggart's sailing cruises, bids to hamper whaling and sealing, at-

Continued on page 11



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## THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

# Lack of cash pulls rug out from a grand living plan

An imaginative new housing estate in Kassel is attracting flocks of visitors. They are keen to see for themselves what is billed as an alternative to high-rise housing.

But project costs have spiralled to such an extent that Documenta Urbana, a name chosen in connection with the art show Kassel hosts every other year, may be an experiment that is never repeated.

"It's much more open here," one old lady, a tenant in the new estate, says with pleasure. "You can step out for a walk. We felt locked up in those boxes over there."

She points with a contemptuous gesture to a group of high-rise apartment blocks on the other side of a busy road that were built in the late 50s.

She now lives in one of the new show apartments on the outskirts of Kassel's city centre in an area known as Schöne Aussicht, or Belle Vue, because it borders on a local beauty spot.

Schöne Aussicht is a name full of promise and a proud claim for what is more than likely to have been the first and last Documenta Urbana.

Kassel has no more money to spare. Neither has Hesse or Bonn. And the estate is an expensive experiment in grant-aided low-rent housing for the needy.

But the first stage of construction has been completed, and what are billed as exemplary models of urban living and housing in the 80s attract large number of visitors.

They include builders and developers, prospective tenants and house-buyers and other who are just keen to take a look at housing that is claimed to be better, more imaginative and designed for people to live in than what was built during the post-war housing boom.

The old lady who is so pleased at having escaped from the boxes on the other side of the road pays a cut-rate rent of DM5 per square metre a month.

She lives in one of 137 apartments in the first stage of the project, built by Neue Heimat for a Kassel housing corporation at a cost of DM40m.

Some have yet to be completed. Originally there were to have been 200 units in the first development stage.

Bonn, Hesse and Kassel have raised DM26m of the total. In 1977, when the model estate was launched and prices in the building trade had yet to skyrocket, no-one was expecting the cost to total anywhere near DM40m.

But Dietrich Sperling, parliamentary state secretary at the Bonn Housing Ministry, said that although the Kassel experiment was exemplary it was unlikely to be an example that was followed by other projects of its kind because the cost of subsidies had been too high.

This was not how the situation looked in 1977, when criticism of post-war housing estates reached a peak (far too late, incidentally).

A new look at housing was a popular idea, and Neue Heimat, the trade union-owned housing and construction corporation, was under heavy fire because the concrete dormitory suburbs it built in the 60s and 70s were unpopular.

They were standardised housing units along fixed lines. They made older people feel afraid of isolation, while young

people had nowhere to play. Alienation was their hallmark.

So the Kassel pilot project in urbane living was a welcome opportunity for Neue Heimat to refurbish its image, and its future housing estates will at least in part be measured in terms of this showpiece.

The aims of the project, Neue Heimat say, are to permit a more individual style of living by varied architectural designs and putting the landscape to good use.

It is to combine medium-height storeys and squatter designs with a wide range of different kinds of apartment, including both experimental architecture and experimental forms of living.

They range from the house that grows to meet requirements to variable ground-plan housing and include both rented accommodation and owner-occupied family homes.

Planning has also been aimed at keeping road traffic on the estate to a minimum and enabling residents to make maximum use of their living environment.

The state was to be lived in with the emphasis on room to move in and leisure activities in the housing sector. Importance is also attached to energy saving and lower running costs.

The intention was not just to provide material for an exhibition to last 100 days, an example was to be set that could realistically be taken up elsewhere.

In 1977 Hesse, Kassel and Neue Heimat got together and agreed to have the housing project ready to coincide with the 1982 Documenta art show.

The late Arnold Bode, who launched the Documenta exhibition, had the crucial idea long beforehand when he suggested an architectural accompaniment to the art show.

Bode's idea was more on the artistic side, and the modified Documenta Urbana plans took shape at a time when West German architecture and town planning was more uniform than it is today.

Nowadays it is more like a trade fair or bazaar, with imported exhibits from countries all over the world.

Kassel is well worth a visit to take a closer look at the Schöne Aussicht estate. Like Wulfen Garden City in its day, it presents an opportunity of comparing in one location approaches to housing that can otherwise only be seen in various places.

Architects in Germany, Austria, Holland and Sweden were invited to submit designs. They included Steidle, Hilmer and Sattler of Munich, Hertzberger of Amsterdam, Johannes Olvegren of Stockholm and Roland Rainer of Vienna.

All are architects who have designed imaginative housing in recent years, and their ideas have turned out to be as different and distinctive as their respective personalities.

On squares or alongside a winding road terraces or groups of small gable-roofed houses with cosy courtyards nestle. Owner-occupied and low-rent apartments share small blocks of flats.

There are studio homes, houses with inner courtyards, corner and terraced houses with one to four storeys. There

are flat roofs, span roofs and all kind of homes in all sizes. They range from conservatories on flat roofs to pyramid designs with play zones for children. There are terraces, loggias, balconies and any number of bay windows. The ground plans are prearranged or variable. Open plan prevails, especially on ground floors. A wide range of materials are used, including plenty of wood and glass but also glass blocks, which are so practical. Home are up for sale at between DM279,000 and DM400,000 for between 100 and 140 square metres of floor space. Low-rent apartments come in sizes of between 40 and 110, private apartments between 65 and 95 square metres. Private apartments are selling at, on average, DM3,400 per square metre, with government or local authority subsidies toward about 60 per cent of the total.

One of the most interesting multi-family homes for low-rent tenants has been designed by Otto Steidle. Amidst a row of different designs it incorporates staggered floor levels and off-beat staircases to go with them.

This distinctive design, which could not possibly be described as a standardised box into which tenants have been thrown, is a pleasing combination of the public and the private.

Outside stairways lead at irregular intervals to split-level apartments tenants can easily come to look on as separate and distinctive homes.

It is as though the pavement were extended to a third-floor front door and staircases were a place to meet and chat.

The design looks a little haphazard but is well organised although unorthodox, and it is encouragingly dismissive of formalism.

Inside Steidle's homes, and not only his, the distinction between living and service rooms along conventional lines has been dispensed with.

The limited floor space in low-rent housing is effectively used to create an impression of greater dimensions by means of steps, split levels and fewer partition walls.

Perhaps it would be fairer to say that an honest attempt is made in Kassel to square the circle and make less room look like more, but it doesn't always work.

The house next door, designed by Hilmer and Sattler of Munich, is more conservative and reminiscent of the Bauhaus. It consists of private apartments, all of which have been sold.

They have rooms in generous sizes arranged with effective use made of axes and diagonals. Ground plan flexibility is ruled out from the start.

In this they differ from Steidle next door or from Hertzberger, who is a structuralist. But a less flexible approach is less trouble when rooms and apartments are larger.

Hilmer and Sattler are also the archi-



Semi-detached house designed by Vienne architect Rainer. One of the houses in Documenta Urbana.

itects of a corner house, round conservatories. Glass and climate are an important feature of many signs. But what a refreshing change from the corner oblongs to which so often takes exception!

Herman Hertzberger, the structuralist, has always been proud of breeze blocks as a building material. They serve, as he uses them, to protect people who live in his homes from spite strict architectural design too can still change their living conditions.

Hertzberger, like Steidle, is aware of the opportunities for ventilation provided by staircases, doors and entrances.

A design that is not to be recommended is the block designed by architects Hilmer and Inken Bode. It is odd in that it largely dispenses with straight walls.

Yet another Berlin entry, a more conventional group of multi-family homes designed by Planungsbüro Nr. 1, is impressively well organised.

The ground plans are arranged. Each apartment has two cones. There are loggias and full use made of the flat roofs (conservatories). They are well suited for urban construction both in blocks and in houses between existing houses, and they are attractive use of corners.

Private homes worth mentioning include the work of Roland Rainer and Johannes Olvegren.

Rainer designs white, cubic houses that put limited space to optimum use. Olvegren allows his pupils to decide the variable design of small terraced houses.

The result is most intriguing. The arrangements look as if they have been "crocheted." They are alternative but retain the opportunity to be their own.

There are many faces to housing somewhere to live at Documenta Urbana in Kassel, and although some may be a little off-beat, it is hardly surprising when one looks at the diverse reality of conventional housing in the neighbourhood.

Werner Strohm

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, 7 September 1982)

## DIPLOMATIC SERVICE

# Plenty of applicants, but it's mainly a man's world

Einstein?" he asked. "After all, I'm a sociologist."

Over the past 8 to 10 years the qualifications of applicants are said to have declined perceptibly. It may be due to the various educational reforms or to modern teaching methods.

Whatever the reason, fewer applicants have a useful grounding in English and French. But for what are termed political reasons French cannot be dropped even though it is gradually being replaced by English as the language of diplomacy.

Candidates can, for the most part, speak their foreign languages fluently, but they aren't so good writing them.

This can even be a problem with German. Applicants have been known to show serious shortcomings in spelling and punctuation.

Many graduates are unable to arrange their ideas in an essay or verbal brief. Schools no longer teach the art of writing essays, one examiner complains.

Lawyers, scientists and economists are used to a methodical approach. Sociologists and political scientists have a reputation for talking at length but not saying much.

By the time applicants reach the individual interview stage of the oral tests, if not earlier, examiners will have a clearer idea whether the candidate is seriously interested in a diplomatic career.

## Quality lower

The foreign service may just be a second best, an alternative option, or the applicant may have mistaken visions of a diplomat's life being one cocktail party after another.

Applicants are warned that problems may arise for marital partners and children as a result of being transferred from one posting to another.

They are also reminded of the danger to life and limb that war and terrorism can cause. Serving as a diplomat in Beirut cannot have been much fun of late, and that is only one example.

It is no longer true that legal training is the passport to a career in the foreign

Continued from page 9

tempts to prevent pumping of diluted acid waste into the North Sea or the squatters who occupied the chimney at the Boehringer chemicals factory.

Protest moves are so imaginative that the public are usually on the ecologists' side, unlike the brute force tactics of West German campaigners against nuclear power stations.

"We always go in for direct action," says William Parkinson, a British Greenpeace activist, "but we never use force."

So politicians find it easier to side with them than with other protest movements.

Klaus von Dohnanyi, Hamburg's Social Democratic mayor, cannot be said to have earned much of a reputation for

service. Being well versed in the law is no longer crucial.

Besides, graduates in so many subjects are finding it more difficult to land the "right" job these days that applicants from all manner of sectors are making enquiries.

Unemployed teachers and economists are busy outstripping law graduates. In 1977 22 of the annual intake of 42 attachés had a legal background.

These 22 lawyers were joined by six teachers, six economics graduates and eight miscellaneous.

In 1981 the intake was 49, of whom 17 had read law and nine economics or business management. The number of teachers had increased to 15.

Eight miscellaneous trainees included mathematicians, medics and scientists. So the major change has been in the number of unemployed teachers who are accepted for training to serve in the diplomatic and consular corps.

Those who are taken spend a year in Bonn learning theory: history, politics, constitutional and international law, economics, languages.

Consulate staff need to be entitled to serve as a judge, so non-lawyers are given three months' special training, during which the lawyers undergo practical training in industry.

The second year of training, at a salary of roughly DM1,440 per month, is spent in a department of the Foreign Office on the banks of the Rhine.

What the service needs are all-round diplomats. A typical first 10 years of a diplomatic career could, for instance, be three years as a press and cultural attaché in Kenya, three years in the commercial section of the embassy in Moscow and then a spell in the legal department back in Bonn.

Only about half the college's graduates are given a foreign posting immediately. The remainder must first serve in Bonn until a vacancy arises.

Service abroad is partly of interest because it means good money. In Bonn a young diplomat, married with two children, takes home DM3,700 a month.

In Brussels he would net DM6,010, and as, say, a vice-consul in Madras he could expect to earn DM8,100 a month.

Alexander Szandar  
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 27 August 1982)

combating pollution of the River Elbe. He is likewise a moderate on nuclear power.

But he has been outspoken on this issue, saying: "Radioactive waste ought not to be dumped at sea. It is time to put a stop to some neighbouring countries using the ocean as a trash can. We cannot afford to run the risk of contaminating our food cycle."

Greenpeace volunteers now work in nine countries and still seem sure of having no lack of work to do in this context.

The US Navy's latest idea is to dump on the seabed its old Polaris submarines, albeit stripped of their nuclear fuel rods.

Thomas Kleine-Brockhoff  
(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 3 September 1982)

# Cash cutbacks make for a tougher life

The Bonn diplomatic service has been cut back to save money, but member of the service are having to work harder.

Embassy and consulate staff in many postings are pushed to the limit. In smaller postings, diplomats now have to be more versatile — that sometimes means deliver the messages as well.

Inspectors sent abroad by the Foreign Office to examine where more manpower cuts can be made are returning instead with stories of trial and tribulation.

Cutbacks have been policy since a commission submitted reform proposals 10 years ago.

The German embassy in Qatar on the Persian Gulf consists of the ambassador, his head of chancery and a secretary. If either of the diplomats is sick or on holiday the other must drive to the airport to collect the diplomatic bag.

If the mail includes instructions to make representations to the government the diplomat will fix the official pen-nant to his car and drive to the offices of the host government.

He will then dictate his report to the Foreign Office in Bonn and drive back to the airport with the diplomatic bag, doubling as his own messenger.

Similar reports are filed from all over the world. Senior officials are regularly putting in 50, 60 or more hours a week in punishing climatic conditions.

Half Bonn's diplomats over 50 are no longer considered healthy enough to serve in the tropics.

Nearer home, at the German consulate-general in Amsterdam, the number of visa applications handled has increased from 2,500 to 25,000 a year since 1978.

This is largely because Turks and Pakistanis must now have visas before they are allowed to visit Germany.

Since 1974 the number of distressed Germans who have been lent a helping hand by embassies and consulates has trebled. Last year there were 21,700 of them.

Foreign service has long lost its glamour. Trainee diplomats are well advised to learn elementary electricals and plumbing, reports from smaller missions indicate.

There are a large number of missions to which this applies. Manpower cuts have been mainly at the smaller postings, whereas at major embassies, such as Moscow, manpower has been increased by up to a third.

Since 1972 foreign service manpower has been pruned by 79 to 6,012. Yet the number of countries with which Bonn has diplomatic ties has increased from 119 to 156.

The foreign service has also been allocated new roles, with Germany a member of the United Nations and represented at the CSCE talks; European political cooperation; disarmament talks, extension of development aid and so on.

Bonn diplomats cast an envious look at countries that have stepped up their diplomatic activities, such as Britain and France.

Both have one-and-a-half to twice the manpower of Germany's foreign service.

(Mannheimer Morgen, 27 August 1982)



## ■ THE CINEMA

# Lotte Eisner: the head that didn't roll

"If heads are to roll," *Völkischer Beobachter*, the Nazi newspaper, wrote in 1933 about Lotte Eisner, "hers will be one." Film critic Lotte Eisner, now 86, preferred to emigrate to Paris, where she helped to set up the Cinémathèque Française. She and Henri Langlois organised exhibitions, retrospectives and festivals and collected old film sets for the Musée du Cinéma, set up in 1972. She wrote books on F. W. Murnau and Fritz Lang and the film history classic *Die dämonische Leinwand* (German title: *The Daemonic Screen*). For her services to the German cinema Frau Eisner, who studied architecture and art history in Berlin, her native city, was earlier this year awarded the Helmut Käutner Prize. Günter Jurczyk here interviews her in Paris for *Süddeutsche Zeitung*.

*Frau Eisner, you were a film and drama critic in Berlin before you emigrated to Paris in 1933. What newspapers and magazines did you mainly work for?*

Mainly for the *Filmkurier*, although I earlier did interviews for *Literarische Welt* and the *Berliner Tageblatt*. In those days I was only really interested in the stage and came across the screen more or less by coincidence.

Slowly I came to understand what the cinema meant. I often went round the studios to see how cameras were used. Technically I was virtually an idiot. I first had to learn pretty well everything I needed to know about the screen.

In those days I didn't know who F. W. Murnau was. I made the acquaintance of Fritz Lang and found his *Nibelungen* very Teutonic. I failed to see the architectural rigour of the film; it wasn't until much later that I came to appreciate it.

I saw Murnau's *Der letzte Mann* and felt Emil Jannings was frightfully sentimental. I had no idea whatever of the technicalities of camera work.

But then I started going round the studios and saw people making takes, cutting and so on. I more or less did my studies in the studio and I feel it a great pity that most of today's film critics next to never go to the studio.

*In the course of your work you soon got to know film directors such as Fritz Lang...*

Yes, I saw Fritz Lang working on *Das Testament des Dr. Mabuse* and he rang me up beforehand to say: "I'll send round the black Mercedes at 11 tonight and you can come and watch the start." He filmed the scene at a factory near Spandau and not in the studio, which was most unusual for Lang.

It was the factory he was to blow up on the screen later in the film, and he experimented with the lighting before starting with the sound recording. I wrote about that in 1933; it was the first article I published in France.

*Were you able to earn a living from articles of that kind in your early days in Paris?*

No, I wrote for a magazine in Prague called *Internationale Filmschau*. It was published in German. But that didn't earn me much. I wrote reviews for a drama magazine too, but that was more to get complimentary cinema and theatre tickets; it didn't earn me money.

I gave German and Latin lessons to make ends meet. It was very hard after

having been so well-known in Germany to start again from scratch.

*How did you arrive at the Cinémathèque Française?*

I made the acquaintance of Henri Langlois, its founder, in 1934. I had read in a French film magazine that two young men, Henri Langlois and Georges Franju, wanted to salvage old silent films and thought the story might have the makings of a good article.

I wrote to them and we met in the Café Weppier. Each of us had a newspaper under one arm by which to recognise each other and I immediately realised that Langlois and Franju meant something.

In those days Langlois ran a small cinema circle in the Champs Elysées. I used to visit him and when I had time I helped him to keep his scripts and programmes in order. He kept them in large suitcases. He kept his film reels in the bathtub. That was the beginning of the Cinémathèque.

Later, when I had to go into hiding during the Occupation, I spent my time in an old chateau looking through the films Langlois wanted to rescue from the Nazis.

As the films were all made of highly flammable material I couldn't very well light an open fire. It was midwinter in a 12th century chateau. I nearly froze to death.

But I hid the films in the oubliettes, or dungeons, beneath straw and the Germans didn't find them. That was how we managed to salvage them.

They included *Kuhle Wampe*, for instance, and its director, Slatan Dudow, whom the French had arrested because he was a Communist. We arranged for him to escape and sent him to friends in Italy, Luigi Comencini and Alberto Lattuada, the only ones who weren't Fascists. From there he was able to get to America.

We later loaned our copy of *Kuhle Wampe* to the GDR, and that is how it has survived.

*In your book published in German in 1955 as 'Die dämonische Leinwand' you outline to French readers the silent films of German Expressionism.*

It is a subject that interested me because of Expressionist drama, with which I was particularly familiar in Berlin at the time. It was not until I knew Langlois that I first saw Expressionist films, but as I had spent a great deal of time on Expressionism, as an art historian for instance, I could easily see what forms Expressionism took on the screen.

*In reading your book one has the impression that you stress the artistic achievement of individual films, such as 'Caligari' or 'Nosferatu', but that in the background there is always a layer of scepticism and ironic detachment towards the mentality to which the films testify.*

That is really more or less a matter of course, because I also wrote about the Germans themselves and how they were predestined to arrive at Expressionism. It could never have occurred in France. Surrealism is something entirely different. I was interested at the time to make this point and to write about the German 'soul' in general.

*In 'The Daemonic Screen' you mention another quality you feel is typically*

*German, the tendency toward the gruesome and frightening.*

Yes, that was in connection with *Nosferatu* — *Symphonie des Grauens*. It is an inclination that has a long tradition. You will find it in E. T. A. Hoffmann, the Romantics, and in German fairy tales such as *Struwwelpeter* or *Max und Moritz*. They are all very frightening tales. The Germans have a leaning toward the fantastic, and that is an advantage in connection with certain creative considerations.

*In your book you particularly praise Robert Wiene's 'Das Kabinett des Dr. Caligari', saying such harmony of artistic means was never again equalled in silent Expressionist films.*

That was because of the set. It and the script, as Wiene himself was not a very important director. The set designer Hermann Warm and actor Werner Krauss told me that when the sets were finished Wiene stood there, with his hands in mid-air, saying:

"My God, what a fiasco, what a waste of money!"

Afterwards he claimed to have been responsible for it as an Expressionist film even though he had not had the vaguest idea what he had been given.

Werner Krauss had none either. "I often had to work in films like that until I was finally given a reasonable part," he told me. "Which part?" I asked. "The Student Prince," he said. Just imagine, he preferred such dreadful kitsch and sentimental stuff to making Expressionist films!

But films like *The Student Prince* were 19 to the dozen in those days and artistic films were a rare exception. A film like *Caligari* never made it with German film-goers. Then it was shown in Paris in 1921 and Louis Delluc was enthusiastic, writing about it in his film magazine.

The Germans then ran another premiere of it, saying that if these French thought it was good it must be, and that was how Expressionist films came about.

It's the same today. Werner Herzog's *Kaspar Hauser* got nowhere, being

*Süddeutsche Zeitung*

screened in communal cinemas in Germany, then it won three awards here in Cannes and the tale was repeated. But the situation has now improved in Germany, thank heavens, and new films have finally achieved a breakthrough. But it took a long time!

*The golden days of the German cinema came to an end in the early 30s. The Reich Propaganda Ministry planned to purify the German film, it was said. The result was dreadful impoverishment and...*

Renewal in resistance, although this impoverishment lasted until well after 1945... But when the Germans are hampered in any way they seem to have an outburst of creative activity. The Germans need something to trigger their creativity, they need a certain resistance they must overcome.

In the 20s it was the lost war, the inflation and the sense of uncertainty that led to great films being made, and it was exactly the same when the '68 uprising was nipped in the bud.

The first film was *Torless* and I said to myself at the time it was due to French influence because Schlöndorff lived a long time in France. But when I saw Werner Herzog's *Lebenszeichen*



Lotte Eisner... 'maybe I'll write a bibliography, if I still have time.'

(German title: *Signs of Life*) there would be good German again.

I wrote to Fritz Lang and "There are going to be good German films again, you know." And he back: "Lotte, I can't imagine it. I was very disappointed because he made his films about India in *Thousand Eyes of Dr. Mabuse* and the response had been...

*Which contemporary German makers do you particularly admire?*

Werner Herzog, Wim Wenders, Herbert Achternbusch are to me most interesting. They come and visit me and we talk about the cinema. I like Alexander Kluge, Reinhard Hauff and some others.

*Why only some?*

Because he made too many good films. He made very good films like *Lili Marleen* that I don't at all.

I don't like Hans Jürgen Syberberg one little bit. I was in Venice at his *Ludwig II*, but I left after an hour because the entire film got on my nerves. He ran after me and asked I was going and I was polite and said I had an important appointment. I would see the film in Paris. I found the kitschy as Ludwig II's castles in Bavaria.

Then he forced me to look at his May film, in which Käutner was the film itself was intolerably boring. I was thrilled to Karl May's child, just like Fritz Lang in whose venture films Karl May's influence clearly to be seen.

*Will you continue to work for Cinémathèque in Paris?*

Henri Langlois died five years ago and the Cinémathèque is no longer the same. His work is not being continued. I am still on the board but have decided to resign because his is no longer being carried on as would have wanted.

I would now like to spend more on my books. The Fritz Lang book yet to be properly prepared for publication in German; the English edition badly done and abridged.

Maybe I'll write an autobiography. I still have time. When you're never can tell what you will still do time to do. I shall certainly try. My has always been... Verlaue somewhere, in a fine passage Kaspar Hauser: "and full of even though it may not be true." In a way, is what my life has been.

Günter Jurczyk

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 6 September 1982)

## MEDICINE

# Headaches? Tiredness? Sleeplessness? It might all be depression

The doctor's patient in 10 suffers from depression. Half are diagnosed as being in the early stages and only are prescribed drugs.

They complain of a wide range of organic disorders, such as headaches, dizziness, tiredness, insomnia, palpitation, stomach complaints and neuralgic and psychosomatic pains.

So all manner of medicines are prescribed that are not likely to get to the root of the trouble.

The personal services of a doctor, given at the right time and in the right manner, would prove more useful, a congress has been told.

What they need is not medication, for most part, but the attention of a doctor in the white coat: personal rather than drug therapy.

The point was made at a round-table discussion on depression, the family and the doctor at a Karlsruhe therapy conference.

The depressive patient, it was said, used physical symptoms as a disguise and a means of discussing problems with the doctor.

Dr. Peter Zöld, the Heidelberg psychiatrist, referred to "as if" symptoms the depressive patient used to make contact with the doctor.

It was striking how varied the image used to describe symptoms was, but the keyword was *Abgeschlagenheit*: fatigue or exhaustion.

It was important for all members of the profession to be aware of such psychosomatic aspects of depression, he said in the opening lecture, which he gave after stepping in to take the place of Dr. Karl Luban-Plozza, of Locarno, who was unable to attend.

Doctors must rightly pigeonhole and understand all findings, including their perception and behaviour, he said. Dr. Kielholz, a Basle psychiatrist, said some key questions could prove useful in such a context. They were:

Are the somatic disorders functional or organic?

Are mental conflicts likely in view of the patient's personal, family or social case history?

Are there clear signs of depressive background symptoms in the course of longer talk with the patient?

Doctors could spare their patients, their families and themselves many disappointments if they were only to take care to reach the right diagnosis.

If they were only to read the right meaning into what are, at times, countable complaints (either verbal or non-verbal) they might be able to rope in both the patient and his family to help with therapy.

Diagnosing depression is at times extremely difficult because the doctor cannot initially know the point at which depression stops and depression begins, said Ravensburg psychiatrist Volker Faust.

In the final analysis depression consists of bundles of symptoms, with the depressive variety being particularly important.

Only a small number of patients suffering from depression were treated in psychiatric clinics. They were mainly the serious or chronic cases.

The overwhelming majority, about 9 out of 10, were treated by their family doctors, said Minden general practitioner Hans-Dietrich Böttner.

GPs played the largest part in diagnosing and treating depression. Up to 28 per cent of his patients showed signs of it.

It was not enough to refer them to a nerve specialist, to prescribe drugs and to give them an encouraging pat on the shoulder.

In general practice there was a particularly marked opportunity of establishing what he called emotional frankness between doctor and patient.

Ballint groups in particular could teach the doctor to hear, see and feel more. With the number of suicide bids steadily increasing, the doctor himself as a drug was a factor of growing importance.

States of anxiety or depression in hospital patients were increasingly seen as physical and mental reactions, said Alex Ammann, a psychosomatic specialist from St Gallen.

Taking patients away from their accustomed surroundings and requiring them to adjust to the role of hospital patient was a major factor.

A state of depression could retard recovery, so there were good reasons for trying to treat depression or anxiety.

The psychosomatic unit at St Gallen Cantonal Hospital was trying to deal with the problem in three ways:

● By psychosomatic discussions in which an attempt is made to look at the patient as a whole,

● By providing outpatient care for people who have been released from hospital,

● And by direct consultation with doctors and groups of patients, for which Ballint group seminars were particularly well suited.

Ernst Petzold likewise emphasised the importance of Ballint groups as an approach to diagnosis that included the patient's family.

The Ballint group, named after Dr

Michael Ballint, a Hungarian psychoanalyst at the Tavistock Clinic in London, is an attempt to train general practitioners in dealing with cases of this kind.

Depression, Petzold said, was an expression of boundless frankness and readiness for sacrifice, a bottomless pit.

Following family structure analysis it could be treated by strengthening and encouraging the patient's individual demarcation.

His independent role within the family was boosted by encouraging him to show his personal limits more clearly by saying yes or no.

Anne Thurn, a Bamberg nerve specialist, said it was not true that depression was more successfully treated by doctors who felt well themselves.

This was something only doctors who were not prepared to make sacrifices on their patient's behalf could say.

In the final analysis doctors could hardly avoid trying to sound out the reason for the patient's depressive symptoms.

They might come to see them as a misunderstood answer to the attacks made by the environment, she said.

Drugs, rightly prescribed, could prove useful in treating state of depression. But the right choice presupposed a sound knowledge of the range of drugs available that affected states of mind.

Here too the doctor must do more than just reach for his prescription block.

Wilhelm Girstenbrey

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 1 September 1982)

# Education drive to counter rise in venereal disease



There has been alarming increase in venereal disease, according to the German family planning association, Pro Familia.

It has produced an information leaflet suitable for use in schools and with youth groups called "Diseases that can be spread by sex: what you ought to know and what to do."

Pro Familia says the main carriers of VD used to be prostitutes. Now they are young drug addicts. It is not easy to check if a drug addict also earns money from prostitution.

They are also unaware of the risks they are running which makes them likely to spread any infection.

Once upon a time, syphilis was in a way even more devastating a scourge than cholera or the plague. The latter two were epidemics that came and went. Syphilis was always a danger.

Only during the Second World War was an effective drug, penicillin, discovered to treat it.

It is the most distinctive and most dangerous venereal disease; it comes in various guises and is often difficult to diagnose.

The sick person long fails to notice symptoms of any kind even though the disease has taken hold of the entire body.

A seemingly harmless pimple can turn out, a decade or two later, to be fatal. The victim is condemned to a miserable death.

It has to be reported to the authorities. Treatment was compulsory (and still is). These two requirements and penicillin seem to have contained the scourge.

But other venereal diseases, such as gonorrhoea, have fought back against penicillin to almost epidemic proportions in some countries.

Gonorrhoea is now one of the most widespread infectious diseases known to man. It is certainly the most frequent venereal disease.

Treatment has grown much more difficult now some strains of VD have grown resistant to penicillin.

These strains are still fairly uncommon in Europe but widespread in America and the Far East, and it is only a matter of time before they reach Europe.

Other complaints spread by sexual intercourse are also increasing, with bacteria apparently less dangerous than virus complaints such as hepatitis or jaundice.

Hepatitis can be spread by kissing or by penetrating other mucous membranes in the body. It can also be passed on by infected cutlery, food or water. So everyone runs a risk of infection.

Diseases of this kind, the ones people prefer not to discuss, are on the increase less because of loose morals resulting from the Pill than because people are careless.

They tend to feel treatment is easy, which is true, but only up to a point. VD can be cured, but only when it is identified and treated in time.

Specialists consistently warn against by penetrating other mucous mem-

looking on VD as a minor and somehow excusable complaint. Women who fail to have treatment for gonorrhoea are often unable to have children.

Another reason why VD is spreading is ignorance. That is where Pro Familia comes in.

"People are interested in how many calories there are in a slice of bread and what toxins there are in sprayed apples," says a Frankfurt Pro Familia worker, "but hardly anyone knows what disease they can contract on what occasion."

VD was a subject not usually mentioned but it was a matter of general knowledge and ought to be dealt with as part of sensible health education.

The leaflet is detailed and to the point and well suited for use in classes at school and with youth groups, especially as the young run a great risk.

So knowledge matters. What young girl knows that gonorrhoea can be transmitted to the baby at birth and that syphilis is contracted by the foetus during pregnancy?

How many kids know that herpes, for which a cure has yet to be found, can lead to cancer? Who realises that lice, nits and fleas are still widespread?

Some young people seem to feel that the Pill protects you from VD or that a course of penicillin makes you immune.

"They may have heard that it is an offence not to report a dose to the doctor, but they are reluctant to because they are unaware that treatment is solely a matter for doctor and patient."

Maybe they don't know that juveniles don't have to tell their parents.

One hopes the Pro Familia campaign will more successfully get this knowledge across than various campaigns by quasi-government agencies that have merely upset parents and teachers by taking an unsuitable approach.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 2 September 1982)



## ■ OUR WORLD

## Werner, the wolf man who tames the call of the wild

Bundeswehr Sergeant-Major Werner Freund has spent every moment of his spare time for nearly a year living, sleeping and eating with a pack of wolves.

His hobby (he is only an amateur ethologist) has earned him the nickname Wolf-Man, or Werner, leader of the pack.

Since October last year his wife Erika has seen little of him. He has spent most of his nights in the eight-square-metre kennel he shares with his seven wolves.

"I want to know as much as I can about them," he says without batting an eyelid.

Freund, 48, comes from Merzig, in the Saar. He is a professional soldier in a parachute battalion. He has financed 15 expeditions round the world and risked his life more than once.

One of the wolves, gave him a serious mauling in the neck during his present experiment, but the wolf-man takes it in his stride.

"Wolves," he says, summing up his findings so far, "are not the beasts man makes them out to be. The merciless hunt has made them shy and mistrustful."

To prove his point he opens the door in the fence 2.5m tall that surrounds the 11,000 square metres (nearly three acres) of woodland Merzig has let him use in which to practise his hobby.

The wolves promptly rush to welcome him as he crawls on all fours, howling back at them. Their fangs bared, they greet the pack leader.

They sniff at his neck and lick his face. Werner Freund returns the favour, delightedly greeting Igor, Mischa, Sascha, Starek, Puschkin, Tamara and Anuschka.

"All I need to do is behave in the way they naturally expect," he says, drily adding: "If I don't I will be running the risk of one of them sinking its teeth into my throat one of these days."

It happened last winter. One night he wanted to crawl out of the kennel. Mischa lay on top of him, half-asleep. "When I pushed him he went for me without warning. Blood flowed, of course."

But he soon found out where he had gone wrong. He spent several nights watching how the wolves slept and discovered that when they wake up at night they step carefully over their fellow-wolves without touching them or waking them.

Since there is constant competition to see who is leader of the pack Werner Freund constantly has to defend his position.

He has learnt how to do so the hard way. Painful experience has taught him that what he must do is shout at them, bite and hand out blows with clenched knuckles. Then they know who's boss.

His hobby began as a harmless pastime when he came across a wolf cub in a pet shop. He is fond of animals, so he took it home.

He and his wife bottle-fed it and it grew up so tame that it even went out for walks with them (on a lead, of course). That was Ivan.

But they wanted to make sure the lived in a suitable habitat so he was given to Kaiserslautern Zoo, where they

later went to see how he was getting on. To their surprise Ivan immediately recognised them and brought them a cub, his son, to admire.

Werner and Erika gradually transferred the cubs to the Merzig enclosure and accustomed them to the idea that he was leader of the pack.

Werner Freund can now howl with the best of them, and when he does so, up they trot in answer to his call.

They eat 30kg of meat a day between them. When Freund is short of cash local farmers chip in with an occasional side of pork.

Jens-Peter Schöne  
(Hamburger Abendblatt,  
21 August 1982)



Werner Freund and friends.

(Photo: Adlon)

## "Of all large airlines Lufthansa operates the youngest fleet of planes."

Der Spiegel (Hamburg) 19.1.1981



Because our planes are new we can offer you quieter, more comfortable flights. We can also offer you a more reliable timetable with a punctuality record that is second to none.

 **Lufthansa**  
German Airlines

## ■ MODERN LIVING

## Help for couples who want to adopt older children

Display adverts in daily newspapers described children in care and what their life had been like so far in a bid to find couples willing to adopt them. There were 160 inquiries.

Two-and-a-half years later the city has published interim findings on the success of the scheme, which sought to find families to adopt 42 children, including eight who were handicapped.

Thirty have been adopted, including two of the handicapped. "The prejudice that only infants are suitable for adoption," says Bernd van Krüchten, a social worker and spokesman for the project, "has been disproved in practice."

One of the children is Martin, now

14, who was adopted at 12. His new parents were well aware that the change would be more difficult with a 12-year-old than with a baby.

They, like other couples interested by the scheme, had taken part in the special courses for several months before Martin came to live with them.

The courses deal with the many problems that can occur, with the result that people whose intentions are not serious can be sure to forget about the idea.

Would-be parents must be sensitive, open-minded, spontaneous, realistic and ready to run a risk. Those who aren't are weeded out.

Martin was a text-book example of how older children come to terms with a new home. "For the first few weeks," his mother says, "he anticipated our every wish and was almost obsequious."

"That," says Krüchten, "is the flattery stage, when the children are over-obliging in their anxiety not to be sent back to the children's home."

"Then," says his mother, "he was normal. But the surer he felt the more difficulties there were. He was aggressive, cheeky, stole money from my purse."

"But we remained patient and talked with him about his behaviour."

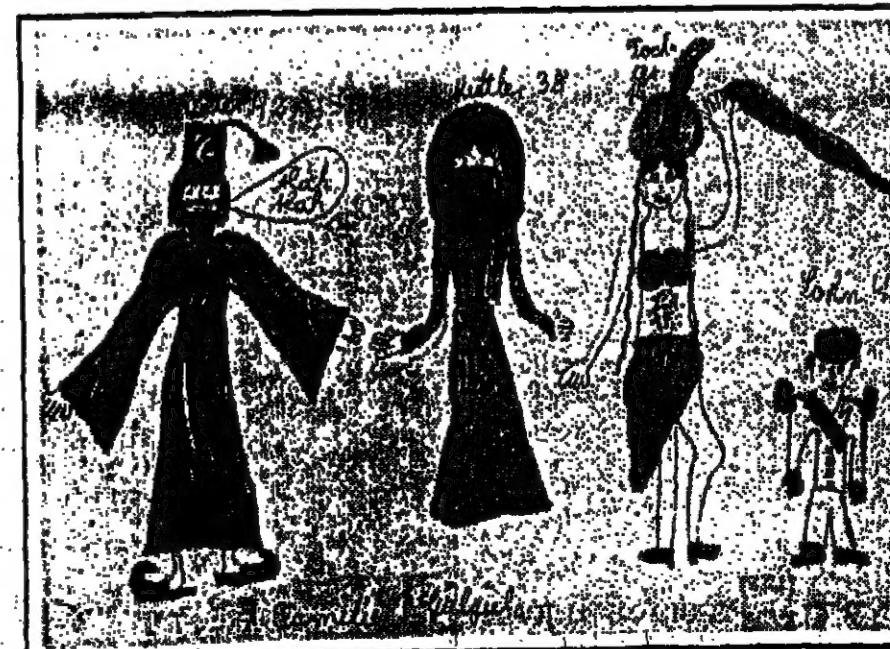
"That," says the social worker, "is the stage at which the children, who are extremely mistrustful of promises and expressions of affection, try to overbid their hand, as though they were testing parents to see whether they would send them back to the children's home after all."

Once this problem stage is over, integration genuinely begins. "After a few weeks," his mother says, "Martin's behaviour changed completely."

"He tried hard to get on with us and gave us more pleasure from month to month. He is now a first-rate schoolboy. He has complete confidence in us. The experiment has been a success."

This autumn a new series of advertisements is due to be placed in Frankfurt newspapers. The slogan is: "Try a teenager right away, not just a baby."

H.H. Kannenberg  
(Die Welt, 3 September 1982)



How one little German sees a Turkish family.

(Photo: Gabriella Schubert)

## Forcible de-programming of sect followers causes a row

De-programming followers of sects such as the Moonies has become an industry. Parents pay a small fortune to have their children de-programmed. Parents pay a small fortune to have their children de-programmed.

The Bonn Ministry of Family Affairs says there are about 200,000 followers of sects, mainly young people.

Cost hearings are pending in some cases where parents have agreed to abduction and de-programming.

The mother of Helen Begadon, a 21-year-old Irish girl who joined the Moonies three years ago, readily admits what happened.

On 13 February she met her father at Cologne hotel and left by the rear entrance, where she says she was seized by men and hustled into a waiting car.

The kidnappers took her to a remote lodge in the Sauerland area, 100 miles from the city, where two American de-programmers and an ex-Moonie tried to change her mind about the Moon's church.

Three guards kept watch on her day and night while the de-programmers used intensive mental pressure in their attempt to persuade her to forget about the sect.

She was kept imprisoned in an unlit room for 12 days, then her warders took her on a trip to Kassel, where she managed to escape from a restaurant and contact the police.

She has filed charges against her kidnappers, and Cologne police are investigating them. Her parents hired a six-man de-programming team via professional operators in the United States.

A similar case in France last March saw police arrested all concerned, including the parents. Kidnapping sect members to de-programme them is common in America, where courts have sent de-programmers to prison.

De-programmers for the sects say there are signs that professionals are being sent to operate in Germany. De-programming is said to cost up to 10,000 marks.

children from the sects," as Hermann Kroll-Schlüter, a CDU MP, puts it.

He is opposed to using force to try to brainwash people. That would be to use the same methods as the sects.

Inge Donnep, North Rhine-Westphalia's Social Democratic Justice Minister, agrees.

"Using force to treat a young person over the age of 18 can be abduction, an indictable offence."

In a free society one must respect the decision of someone who has come of age to join a sect and live in accordance with its rules.

Regardless of the legal situation experts warn against the mental repercussions of enforced de-programming. Yet advocates still feel sect members must be forced to think logically again.

This is the view of Dr Klaus Karbe of an intellectual and psychic freedom action group in Bonn, who says there is no other way of breaking down the defences of the sect follower.

Dr Karbe does not recommend abduction but he feels deception may fairly be used to persuade a young person to leave the sect so experts can talk with him or her in a bid to achieve liberation.

Edgar Bauer/dpa  
(Rheinische Post, 27 August 1982)

## Foreigners: the prejudices begin early

Six- to eight-year-old German children have appalling prejudices about migrant workers' children, a survey by the Free University of Berlin has discovered.

The aim of the survey was to find out how German children viewed little Turks and how Turkish children viewed little Germans.

The views of 226 girls and boys aged 6 to 16, including 40 Turkish children, were probed. They were asked to draw a typical Turkish or German child.

They were also asked what contacts or friendships they had with the other nationality and what they knew about the country they came from (or lived in). Most German children questioned had to admit to not personally knowing Turkish kids, but they all claimed the usual prejudices to be fact.

Turks, they said, only change their clothes once a fortnight. They don't like working, are only in Germany to scrounge on the welfare system, are argumentative and drive big cars.

Even German children who did know Turks were guided by the usual prejudices, probably because there were no Turks among their class friends.

Few knew more about Turkey than that it was very hot there and Ankara was the capital city. Some knew there was widespread unemployment in Turkey, but only one German schoolboy knew that some Turks had chosen to leave their country because it was run by a military dictatorship.

The views of Germans and Germany held by Turkish children are not much better. As a rule they too knew little more than the customary clichés.

Many of their drawings included a dog (many Berlin families are dog-owners), but they knew little more about Germany than what is generally taught at school.

Both groups of children almost always referred to the other group as "them." They were never neighbours, friends or whatever. The personal relationship was almost always missing.

Gabriella Schubert, who headed the group that conducted the survey, says its findings are not necessarily representative.

But they show a distressing lack of knowledge and an alarming number of prejudices, especially among German children who have little to do with Turkish children at school.

A more detailed, in-depth investigation will be needed to shed light on the structure of cliché and prejudice and connections between what children think and what their parents think.

The questions were asked in a written questionnaire. More could have been learnt, she admitted, if the children had been questioned personally.

But despite its limitations the survey shows that children are strongly influenced by adults, be it the family, neighbours or the media, in the views they have of foreigners.

This is mostly because they have no experience of their own, which is alarming when you consider how many Turks there are in Berlin.

And there is no reason to assume that the situation is much better anywhere else in the Federal Republic of Germany.

Heinz Pahlke  
(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt,  
3 September 1982)